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ART. I.—*Histoire de France.* Par M. MICHELET, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur d'Histoire au Collège Royal de France, Chef de la Section Historique aux Archives du Royaume. 8vo. Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Paris: 1835-42.

IT has of late been a frequent remark among Continental thinkers, that the tendencies of the age set strongly in the direction of historical enquiry, and that history is destined to assume a new aspect from the genius and labours of the minds now devoted to its improvement. The anticipation must appear at least premature to an observer in England, confining his observation to his own country. Whatever may be the merits, in some subordinate respects, of such histories as the last twenty years have produced among us, they are in general distinguished by no essential character from the historical writings of the last century. No signs of a new school have been manifested in them; they will be affirmed by no one to constitute an era, or even prefigure the era which is to come: save that the 'shadow of its coming' rested for an instant on the lamented Dr Arnold, at the close of his career; while Mr Carlyle has shown a signal example, in his 'French Revolution,' of the epic tone and pictorial colouring which may be given to literal

truth, when materials are copious, and when the writer combines the laborious accuracy of a chronicler, with the vivid imagination of a poet.

But whoever desires to know either the best which has been accomplished, or what the most advanced minds think it possible to accomplish, for the renovation of historical studies, must look to the Continent; and by the Continent we mean of course, in an intellectual sense, Germany and France. That there are historians in Germany, our countrymen have at last discovered. The first two volumes of Niebuhr's unfinished work, though the least attractive part to ordinary tastes, are said to have had more readers, or at least more purchasers, in English than in their native language. Of the remaining volume, a translation has lately appeared, by a different, but a highly competent hand. Schlosser, if not read, has at least been heard of in England; and one of Ranke's works has been twice translated: we would rather that two of them had been translated once. But, though French books are supposed to be sufficiently legible in England without translation, the English public is not aware, that both in historical speculations, and in the importance of her historical writings, France, in the present day, far surpasses Germany. What reason induces the educated part of our countrymen to *ignore*, in so determined a manner, the more solid productions of the most active national mind in Europe, and to limit their French readings to M. de Balzac and M. Eugène Sue, there would be some difficulty in precisely determining. Perhaps it is the ancient dread of French infidelity; perhaps the ancient contempt of French frivolity and superficiality. If it be the former, we can assure them that there is no longer ground for such a feeling; if the latter, we must be permitted to doubt that there ever was. It is unnecessary to discuss whether, as some affirm, a strong religious 'revival' is taking place in France, and whether such a phenomenon, if real, is likely to be permanent. There is at least a decided reaction against the infidelity of the last age. The Voltairian philosophy is looked upon as a thing of the past; one of its most celebrated assailants has been heard to lament, that it has no living representative sufficiently considerable to perform the functions of a 'constitutional opposition' against the reigning philosophic doctrines. The present French thinkers, whether receiving Christianity or not as a divine revelation, in no way feel themselves called upon to be unjust to it as a fact in history. There are men who, not disguising their own unbelief, have written deeper and finer things in vindication of what religion has done for mankind, than have sufficed to found the reputation of some of its most admired defenders. If they have

any historical prejudice on the subject, it is in favour of the priesthood. They leave the opinions of David Hume on ecclesiastical history, to the exclusive patronage (we are sorry to say) of Protestant writers in Great Britain.

With respect to the charge so often made against French historians, of superficiality and want of research, it is a strange accusation against the country which produced the Benedictines. France has at all times possessed a class of studious and accurate *érudits*, as numerous as any other country except Germany; and her popular writers are not more superficial than our own. Voltaire gave false views of history in many respects, but not falser than Hume's; Thiers is inaccurate, but less so than Sir Walter Scott. France has done more for even English history than England has. The very first complete history of England, and to this day not wholly superseded by any other, was the production of a French emigrant, Rapiin de Thoyras. Of Mr Turner's really learned works on our early ages—works standing almost alone among us in extent of original research—it is, after all, the greatest merit to have served as preparatory studies for the 'Norman Conquest' of Augustin Thierry.* The histories and historical memoirs of the Commonwealth period, never yet collected in our own country, have been translated and published at Paris in an assembled form, under the superintendence of M. Guizot; to whom also we owe the best history, both in thought and in composition, of the times of Charles I. The reigns of the last two Stuarts have been written, with the mind of a statesman and the hand of a vigorous writer, by Armand Carrel, in his '*Histoire de la Contre-révolution en Angleterre*;' and at greater length, with much research and many new facts, by M. Mazure. To call these writings, and numerous others which have lately appeared in France, superficial, would only prove an entire unacquaintance with them.

Among the French writers now labouring in the historical field, we must at present confine ourselves to those who have narrated as well as philosophized; who have written history, as well as written *about* history. Were we to include in our survey those general speculations which aim at connecting together the facts of universal history, we could point to some which we deem even more instructive, because of a more comprehensive and far-reaching character, than any which will now fall under our notice. Restricting ourselves, however, to histo-

* And (we may add) for the '*Histoire de France*' of M. Michelet, who has derived important aid from Mr Turner's review of the Lancastrian period of our history.

rians in the received sense of the word, and among them to those who have done enough to be regarded as the chiefs and representatives of the new tendency, we should say that the three great historical minds of France, in our time, are Thierry, Guizot, and the writer whose name, along with that of his most important production, stands at the beginning of the present article.

To assist our appreciation of these writers, and of the improved ideas on the use and study of history, which their writings exemplify and diffuse, we may observe that there are three distinct stages in historical enquiry.

The type of the first stage is Larcher, the translator of Herodotus, who, as remarked by Paul Louis Courier, carries with him to the durbar of Darius the phraseology of the Court of Louis Quatorze;* and, nowise behind him, an English translator of

* 'Figurez-vous un truchement qui, parlant au sénat de Rome pour le paysan du Danube, au lieu de ce début,

"Romains, et vous Sénat, assis pour m'écouter," commencerait : Messieurs, puisque vous me faites l'honneur de vouloir bien entendre votre humble serviteur, j'aurai celui de vous dire. . . . Voilà exactement ce que font les interprètes d'Hérodote. La version de Larcher, pour ne parler que de celle qui est la plus connue, ne s'écarte jamais de cette civilité : on ne saurait dire que ce soit le laquais de Madame de Sévigné, auquel elle compare les traducteurs d'alors ; car celui-là rendait dans son langage bas, le style de la cour, tandis que Larcher, au contraire, met en style de la cour ce qu'a dit l'homme d'Halicarnasse. Hérodote, dans Larcher, ne parle que de princes, de princesses, de seigneurs, et de gens de qualité ; ces princes montent sur le trône, s'emparent de la couronne, ont une cour, des ministres et de grands officiers, faisant, comme on peut croire, le bonheur des sujets ; pendant que les princesses, les dames de la cour, accordent leurs faveurs à ces jeunes seigneurs. Or est-il qu'Hérodote ne se doute jamais de ce que nous appelons princes, trône et couronne, ni de ce qu'à l'académie on nomme faveurs des dames et bonheur des sujets. Chez lui, les dames, les princesses mènent boire leurs vaches, ou celles du roi leur père, à la fontaine voisine, trouvent là des jeunes gens, et font quelque sottise, toujours exprimée dans l'auteur avec le mot propre : on est esclave ou libre, mais on n'est point sujet dans Hérodote. . . . Larcher ne nommera pas le boulanger de Crésus, le palefrenier de Cyrus, le chaudronnier Macistos ; il dit grand panetier, écuyer, armurier, avertissant en note que cela est plus noble.—*Prospectus d'une Traduction Nouvelle d'Hérodote, Œuvres de P. L. Courier*, iii. 262.

For another specimen, we may instance the Abbé Velly, the most popular writer of French history in the last century. We quote from M. Thierry's third Letter on the History of France :—

'S'agit-il d'exprimer la distinction que la conquête des barbares établissait entre eux et les vaincus, distinction grave et triste, par

the *Anabasis*, who renders ἀνδρες στρατιῶται by 'gentlemen of the army.' The character of this school is to transport present feelings and notions back into the past, and refer all ages and forms of human life to the standard of that in which the writer himself lives. Whatever cannot be translated into the language of their own time, whatever they cannot represent to themselves by some fancied modern equivalent, is nothing to them, calls up no ideas in their minds at all. They cannot imagine any thing different from their own everyday experience. They assume that words mean the same thing to a monkish chronicler as to a modern member of parliament. If they find the term *rex* applied to Clovis or Clotaire, they already talk of 'the French monarchy,' or 'the kingdom of France.' If among a tribe of savages newly escaped from the woods, they find mention of a council of leading men, or an assembled multitude giving its sanction to some matter of general concernment, their imagination jumps to a system of free institutions, and a wise contrivance of constitutional balances and checks. If, at other times, they find the chief killing and plundering without this sanction, they

laquelle la vie d'un indigène n'était estimée, d'après le taux des amendes, qu'à la moitié du prix mis à celle de l'étranger, ce sont de pures préférences de cour, *les faveurs de nos rois* s'adressent surtout aux vainqueurs. S'agit-il de présenter le tableau de ces grandes assemblées, où tous les hommes de race Germanique se rendaient en armes, où chacun était consulté depuis le premier jusqu'au dernier; l'Abbé Velly nous parle d'une espèce de *parlement ambulatoire* et des *cours plénières*, qui étaient (après la chasse) *une partie des amusemens de nos rois*. "Nos rois," ajoute l'aimable abbé, "ne se trouvèrent bientôt plus en état de donner ces superbes fêtes. On peut dire que le règne des Carlovingiens fut celui des cours plénières. . . . Il y eut cependant toujours des fêtes à la cour; mais, avec plus de galanterie, plus de politesse, plus de goût, on n'y retrouva ni cette grandeur ni cette richesse."

"Hilderic," dit Grégoire de Tours, "regnant sur la nation des Franks et se livrant à une extrême dissolution, se prit à abuser de leurs filles; et eux, indignés de cela, le destituèrent de la royauté. Informé, en outre, qu'ils voulaient le mettre à mort, il partit et s'en alla en Thuringe." Ce récit est d'un écrivain qui vivait un siècle après l'événement. Voici maintenant les paroles de l'abbé Velly, qui se vante, dans sa préface, de puiser aux sources anciennes et de peindre exactement les mœurs, les usages, et les coutumes: "Childéric fut un prince à grandes aventures; . . . c'était l'homme le mieux fait de son royaume. Il avait de l'esprit, du courage; mais, né avec un cœur tendre, il s'abandonnait trop à l'amour: ce fut la cause de sa perte. Les seigneurs Français, aussi sensibles à l'outrage que leurs femmes l'avaient été aux charmes de ce prince, se liguèrent pour le détrôner. Contraint de céder à leur fureur, il se retira en Allémanie."

just as promptly figure to themselves an acknowledged despotism. In this manner they antedate not only modern ideas, but the essential characters of the modern mind; and imagine their ancestors to be very like their next neighbours, saving a few eccentricities, occasioned by being still Pagans or Catholics, by having no *habeas corpus* act, and no Sunday schools. If an historian of this stamp takes a side in controversy, and passes judgment upon actions or personages that have figured in history, he applies to them in the crudest form the canons of some modern party or creed. If he is a Tory, and his subject is Greece, every thing Athenian must be cried down, and Philip and Dionysius must be washed white as snow, lest Pericles and Demosthenes should not be sufficiently black. If he be a Liberal, Cæsar and Cromwell, and all usurpers similar to them, are ‘damned to everlasting fame.’ Is he an unbeliever? a pedantic narrow-minded Julian becomes his pattern of a prince, and the heroes and martyrs of Christianity objects of scornful pity. If he is of the Church of England, Gregory VII. must be an ambitious impostor, because Leo X. was a self-indulgent voluptuary; John Knox nothing but a coarse-minded fanatic, because the historian does not like John Wesley. Humble as our estimate must be of this kind of writers, it would be unjust to forget, that even *their* mode of treating history is an improvement upon the unenquiring credulity which contented itself with copying or translating the ancient authorities, without ever bringing the writer’s own mind in contact with the subject. It is better to conceive Demosthenes even under the image of Anacharsis Clootz, than not as a living being at all, but a figure in a puppet-show, of which Plutarch is the showman; and Mitford, so far, is a better historian than Rollin. He does give a sort of reality to historical personages: he ascribes to them passions and purposes, which, though not those of their age or position, are still human; and enables us to form a tolerably distinct, though, in general, an exceedingly false notion of their qualities and circumstances. This is a first step; and, that step made, the reader, once in motion, is not likely to stop there.

Accordingly, the second stage of historical study attempts to regard former ages not with the eye of a modern, but, as far as possible, with that of a contemporary; to realize a true and living picture of the past time, clothed in its circumstances and peculiarities. This is not an easy task: the knowledge of any amount of dry generalities, or even of the practical life and business of his own time, go a very little way to qualify a writer for it. He needs some of the characteristics of the poet. He has to ‘body forth the forms of things unknown.’ He must have the faculty to see, in the ends and fragments which are preserved

of some element of the past, the consistent whole to which they once belonged; to discern, in the individual fact which some monument hands down, or to which some chronicler testifies, the general, and for that very reason unrecorded, facts which it presupposes. Such gifts of imagination he must possess; and, what is rarer still, he must forbear to abuse them. He must have the conscience and self-command to assert no more than can be vouched for, or deduced by legitimate inference from what is vouched for. With the genius for producing a great historical romance, he must have the virtue to add nothing to what can be proved to be true: What wonder if so rare a combination is not often realized?

Realized, of course, in its ideal perfection, it never is; but many now aim at it, and some approach it, according to the measure of their faculties. Of the sagacity which detects the meaning of small things, and drags to light the forgotten elements of a gone-by state of society, from scattered evidences which the writers themselves who recorded them did not understand, the world has now, in Niebuhr, an imperishable model. The reproduction of past events in the colours of life, and with all the complexity and bustle of a real scene, can hardly be carried to a higher pitch than by Mr Carlyle. But to find a school of writers, and among them several of the first rank, who systematically direct their aims towards this ideal of history, we must look to the French historians of the present day.

There is yet a third and the highest stage of historical investigation, in which the aim is not simply to compose histories, but to construct a science of history. In this view, the whole of the events which have befallen the human race, and the states through which it has passed, are regarded as a series of phenomena, produced by causes, and susceptible of explanation. All history is conceived as a progressive chain of causes and effects; or (by an apter metaphor) as a gradually unfolding web, in which every fresh part that comes to view is a prolongation of the part previously unrolled, whether we can trace the separate threads from the one into the other, or not. The facts of each generation are looked upon as one complex phenomenon, caused by those of the generation preceding, and causing, in its turn, those of the next in order. That these states must follow one another according to some law, is considered certain: how to read that law, is deemed the fundamental problem of the science of history. To find on what principles, derived from the nature of man and the system of the universe, each state of society and of the human mind produced that which came after it; and whether there can be traced any order of production sufficiently defi-

nite, to show what future states of society may be expected to emanate from the circumstances which exist at present—is the aim of historical philosophy in its third stage.

This ultimate and highest attempt, must, in the order of nature, follow, not precede, that last described; for before we can trace the filiation of states of society one from another, we must rightly understand and clearly conceive them, each apart from the rest. Accordingly, this greatest achievement is rather a possibility to be one day realized, than an enterprise in which any great progress has yet been made. But of the little yet done in that direction, by far the greater part has hitherto been done by French writers. They have made more hopeful attempts than any one else, and have more clearly pointed out the path: they are the real harbingers of the dawn of historical science.

Dr Arnold, in his *Historical Lectures*—which, (it should not be forgotten,) though the latest production of his life, were the earliest of his systematic meditations on *general history*—showed few and faint symptoms of having conceived, with any distinctness, this third step in historical study. But he had, as far as the nature of the work admitted, completely realized the second stage; and to those who have not yet attained that stage, there can scarcely be more instructive reading than his *Lectures*. The same praise must be given, in an even higher sense, to the earliest of the three great modern French historians, M. Augustin Thierry.

It was from historical romances that M. Thierry learned to recognize the worthlessness of what in those days were called histories; M. de Chateaubriand and Sir Walter Scott were his early teachers. He has himself described the effect produced upon him and others, by finding, in ‘*Ivanhoe*,’ Saxons and Normans in the reign of Richard I. Why, he asked himself, should the professed historians have left such a fact as this to be brought to light by a novelist? and what else were such men likely to have understood of the age, when so important and distinctive a feature of it had escaped them? The study of the original sources of French history, completed his conviction of the senselessness of the modern compilers. He resolved ‘to plant the ‘standard of historical reform,’—and to this undertaking all his subsequent life has been consecrated. His ‘*History of the Norman Conquest*,’ though justly chargeable with riding a favourite idea too hard, forms an era in English history. In another of his works, the ‘*Lettres sur l’Histoire de France*,’ in which profound learning is combined with that clear practical insight into the realities of life, which in France, more than in any other country except Italy, accompanies speculative emi-

nence, M. Thierry gives a *piquant* exposure of the incapacity of historians to enter into the spirit of the middle ages, and the ludicrously false impressions they communicate of human life as it was in early times. Exemplifying the right method as well as censuring the wrong, he, in the same work, extracted from the records of the middle ages some portions, not large but valuable, of the neglected facts which constitute the real history of European society. Nowhere, however, is M. Thierry's genius so pleasingly displayed, as in his most recent publication, the work of his premature old age, written under the double affliction of blindness and paralysis—the ‘*Récits des Temps Mérovingiens*.’ This book, the first series of which is all that has yet been published, was destined to paint—what till that time he had only discussed and described—that chaos of primitive barbarism and enervated civilization, from which the present nations of Europe had their origin, and which forms the transition from ancient to modern history. He makes the age tell its own story; not drawing any thing from invention, but, like Mr Carlyle, adhering scrupulously to authentic facts. As, however, the history of the three centuries preceding Charlemagne was not worth writing throughout in the same fulness of detail as the French Revolution, he contents himself with portions of it, selecting such as, while they are illustrative of the times, are also in themselves complete stories, furnished with characters and personal interest. The experiment is completely successful. The grace and beauty of the narration makes these true histories as pleasant reading as if they were a charming collection of fictitious tales; while the practical feeling they impart of the term of human life from which they are drawn—the familiar understanding they communicate of ‘*la vie barbare*,’—is unexampled even in fiction, and unthought of heretofore in any writing professedly historical. The narratives are preceded by an improved *résumé* of the author's previous labours in the theoretical department of his subject, under the title of a ‘*Dissertation on the Progress of*’ ‘*Historical Studies in France*.’

M. Guizot has a mind of a different cast from M. Thierry; the one is, especially, a man of speculation and science, as the other is, more emphatically, in the high European sense of the term, an artist; though this is not to be understood of either in an exclusive sense, each possessing a fair share of the qualities characteristic of the other. Of all Continental historians of whom we are aware, M. Guizot is the one best adapted to this country, and a familiarity with whose writings would do most to train up and ripen among us the growing spirit of historical speculation.

M. Guizot's only narrative work is the unfinished history, already referred to, of what is called in France the English Revolution. His principal productions are the 'Essais sur l'Histoire de France,' published in 1822, and the Lectures, which the whole literary public of Paris thronged to hear, from 1828 to 1830, and to which, as well as to his English history, the political events of the last of those years put an abrupt termination. The immense popularity of these writings in their own country—a country not more patient of the 'genre ennuyeux' than its neighbours—is a sufficient guarantee that their wearing the form of dissertation, and not of narrative, is, in this instance, no detriment to their attractiveness. Even the light reader will find in them no resemblance to the chapters on 'manners and customs,' which, with pardonable impatience, he is accustomed to skip, when turning over any of the historians of the old school. For in them, we find only that dullest and most useless of all things, mere facts without ideas: M. Guizot creates within those dry bones a living soul.

M. Guizot does not, as in the main must be said of M. Thierry, remain in what we have called the second region of historical enquiry: he makes frequent and long incursions into the third. He not only enquires what our ancestors were, but what made them so; what gave rise to the peculiar state of society of the middle ages, and by what causes this state was progressively transformed into what we see around us. His success in this respect could not, in the almost nascent state of the science of history, be perfect; but it is as great as was perhaps compatible with the limits of his design. For, (it has been well remarked,) in the study of history, we must proceed from the *ensemble* to the details, and not conversely. We cannot explain the facts of any age or nation, unless we have first traced out some connected view of the main outline of history. The great universal results must be first accounted for, not only because they are the most important, but because they depend upon the simplest laws. Taking place on so large a scale as to neutralize the operation of local and partial agents, it is in them alone that we see in undisguised action the inherent tendencies of the human race. Those great results, therefore, may admit of a complete theory; while it would be impossible to give a full analysis of the innumerable causes which influenced the local or temporary development of some section of mankind; and even a distant approximation to it supposes a previous understanding of the general laws, to which these local causes stand in the relation of modifying circumstances.

But before astronomy had its Newton, there was a place, and

an honourable one, for not only the observer Tycho, but the theorizer Kepler. M. Guizot is the Kepler, and something more, of his particular subject. He has a real talent for the explanation and generalization of historical facts. He unfolds at least the proximate causes of social phenomena, with rare discernment, and much knowledge of human nature. We recognise, moreover, in all his theories, not only a solidity of acquirements, but a sobriety and impartiality, which neither his countrymen, nor speculative thinkers in general, have often manifested in so high a degree. He does not exaggerate the influence of some one cause or agency, sacrificing all others to it. He neither writes as if human affairs were absolutely moulded by the wisdom and virtue, or the vices and follies of rulers; nor as if the general circumstances of society did all, and accident or eminent individuals could do nothing. He neither attributes every thing to political institutions, nor every thing to the ideas and convictions in men's minds; but shows how they both co-operate, and react upon one another. He sees in European civilization the complex product of many conflicting influences, Germanic, Roman, and Christian; and of the peculiar position in which these different forces were brought to act upon one another. He ascribes to each of them its share of influence. Whatever may be added to his speculations in a more advanced state of historical science, little that he has done, will, we think, require to be undone; his conclusions are seldom likely to be found in contradiction with the deeper or more extensive results that may, perhaps, hereafter be obtained.

It speaks little for the intellectual tastes and the liberal curiosity of our countrymen, that they remain ignorant or neglectful of such writings. The 'Essays' we have scarcely ever met with an Englishman who had read. Of the 'Lectures,' one volume has been twice translated, and has had some readers, especially when M. Guizot's arrival in England, as the representative of his country, obtruded (as Dr Chalmers would say) a knowledge of his existence and character upon London society. But the other four volumes are untranslated and unread, although they are the work itself, to which the first volume is, in truth, only the introduction. When the Villèle Ministry was overthrown, and the interdict removed by which the Government of the Restoration had chained up all independent speculation, M. Guizot reopened his lecture-room after a suspension of near ten years. Half the academic season having then expired, he was compelled, not only to restrict his view of modern history to the merest outline, but to leave out half the subject altogether; treating only of the progress of Society, and reserving for the more extended labours of

subsequent years, the development of the individual human being. Yet critics have been found in England, who, in entire ignorance that the volume before them was a mere preface, visited upon the author, as shortcomings in his own views, the *lacune* unavoidably left in his first year's lectures, and amply filled up in those of the succeeding seasons;—charging upon him as a grave philosophical error, that he saw in history only institutions and social relations, and altogether overlooked human beings.

What has obtained for the introductory volume the share of attention with which it (and not the others) has been treated by the English public, is perhaps that it bears, as its second title, 'History of Civilization in Europe;' while the other volumes, after the words, 'Cours d'Histoire Moderne,' bear the designation of 'Histoire de la Civilization en France,' and as such may have been deemed not specially interesting to England. But though this may avail in explanation, it is inadmissible as an excuse. A person must need instruction in history very much, who does not know that the history of civilization in France *is* that of civilization in Europe. The main course of the stream of civilization is identical in all the western nations; their origin was essentially similar—they went through the same phases—and society in all of them, at least until after the Reformation, consisted fundamentally of the same elements. Any one country, therefore, may, in some measure, stand for all the rest. But France is the best type, as representing best the average circumstances of Europe. There is no country in which the general tendencies of modern society have been so little interfered with by secondary and modifying agencies. In England, for example, much is to be ascribed to the peculiarity of a double conquest. While elsewhere *one* race of barbarians overran an extensive region, and settled down amidst a subject population greatly more numerous, as well as much more civilized, than themselves; the first invaders of England, instead of enslaving, exterminated or expelled the former inhabitants; and after growing up into a nation, were in their turn subdued by a race almost exactly on a level with them in civilization. The Scandinavian countries, on the other hand, and a great part of Germany, had never been conquered at all; and, in the latter, much depended upon the elective character of the head of the empire, which prevented the consolidation of a powerful central government. In Italy, the early predominance of towns and town life; in Spain, the Moorish occupation, and its consequences, coexisted as modifying causes with the general circumstances common to all. But in France, no disturbing forces, of any thing like equal potency, can

be traced; and the universal tendencies, having prevailed more completely, are more obviously discernible.

To any European, therefore, the history of France is not a foreign subject, but a part of his national history. Nor is there any thing partial or local in M. Guizot's treatment of it. He draws his details and exemplifications from France; but his principles are universal. The social conditions and changes which he delineates, were not French, but European. The intellectual progress which he retraces, was the progress of the European mind.*

A similar remark applies to the 'History of France' by M. Michelet, the third great French historian of the present era—a work which, even in its unfinished state, is the most important that he has produced, and of which it is now time that we should begin to give an account.

M. Michelet has, among the writers of European history, a position peculiarly his own.

Were we to say that M. Michelet is altogether as safe a writer as M. Thierry or M. Guizot—that his interpretations of history may be accepted as actual history—that those who dislike to think or explore for themselves, may sleep peacefully in the faith that M. Michelet has thought and explored for them—we should give him a different kind of praise from that which we consider his due. M. Michelet's are not books to save a reader the trouble of thinking, but to make him boil over with thought. Their effect on the mind is not acquiescence, but stir and ferment.

M. Michelet has opened a new vein in the history of the middle ages. A pupil of M. Guizot, or at least an admiring auditor, who has learned from him most of what he had to teach, M. Michelet, for this very reason, has not followed in his wake, but consulted the bent of his own faculties, which prompted him to undertake precisely what M. Guizot had left undone. Of him it would be very unlikely to be said, even falsely, that he thought only of society. Without overlooking society, man is his especial subject. M. Guizot has neglected neither, but has treated them both conformably to the character of his own mind. He is himself two things—a statesman and a speculative thinker; and in his Lectures, when he leaves the province of the statesman, it is for that of the metaphysician. His history of the human mind is principally the history of speculation. It is otherwise with M. Michelet. His peculiar element is that of the poet, as his countrymen would say—of the religious man, as would be said in a

* We hope to be able, ere long, to give a fuller view of the principal work of this eminent writer.

religious age—in reality, of both. Not the intellectual life of intellectual men, not the social life of the people, but their internal life; their thoughts and feelings in relation to themselves and their destination; the habitual temper of their minds—not overlooking, of course, their external circumstances. He concerns himself more with masses than with literary individuals, except as specimens, on a larger scale, of what was in the general heart of their age. His chief interest is for the collective mind, the everyday plebeian mind of humanity—its enthusiasms, its collapses, its strivings, its attainments, and failures. He makes us feel with its sufferings, rejoice in its hopes; he makes us identify ourselves with the varying fortunes and feelings of human nature, as if mankind or Christendom were one being, the single and indivisible hero of a tale.

M. Michelet had afforded an earnest of these qualities in his former writings. He has written a history of the Roman Republic, in which he availed himself largely, as all writers on Roman history now do, of the new views opened by the profound sagacity of Niebuhr. One thing, however, he has not drawn from Niebuhr; for Niebuhr had it not to bestow. We have no right to require that an author, who has done in his department great things which no one before him had done, or could do, should have done all other good things likewise. But without meaning disparagement to Niebuhr, it has always struck us as remarkable, that a mind so fitted to throw light upon the dark places in the Roman manner of existence, should have exhausted its efforts in clearing up and rendering intelligible the merely civic life of the Roman people. By the aid of Niebuhr, we now know, better than we had ever reckoned upon knowing, what the Roman republic was. But what the Romans themselves were, we scarcely know better than we did before. It is true that citizenship, its ideas, feelings, and active duties, filled a larger space in ancient, than in any form of modern life; but they did not constitute the whole. A Roman citizen had a religion and gods, had a religious morality, had domestic relations; there were women in Rome as well as men; there were children, who were brought up and educated in a certain manner; there were, even in the earliest period of the Roman commonwealth, slaves. Of all this, one perceives hardly any thing in Niebuhr's voluminous work. The central idea of the Roman religion and polity, the family, scarcely shows itself, except in connexion with the classification of the citizens; nor are we made to perceive in what the beliefs and modes of conduct of the Romans, respecting things in general, agreed, and in what disagreed, with those of the rest of the ancient world. Yet the mystery of the Romans and of their

fortunes must lie there. Now, of many of these things, one does learn something from the much smaller work of M. Michelet. In imaging to ourselves the relation in which a Roman stood, not to his fellow-citizens as such, but to the universe, we gain some help from Michelet—next to none from Niebuhr. The work before us has, in a still greater degree, a similar merit. Without neglecting the outward condition of mankind, but, on the contrary, throwing much new light upon it, he tells us mainly of their inward mental workings. Others have taught us as much of how mankind acted at each period, but no one makes us so well comprehend how they felt. He is the subjective historian of the middle ages.

For his book, at least in the earlier volumes, is a history of the middle ages, quite as much as of France; and he has aimed at giving us, not the dry husk, but the spirit of those ages. This had never been done before in the same degree, not even by his eminent precursor, Thierry, except for the period of the Germanic invasions. The great value of the book is, that it does, to some extent, make us understand what was really passing in the collective mind of each generation. For, in assuming distinctness, the life of the past assumes also variety under M. Michelet's hands. With him, each period has a physiognomy and a character of its own. It is in reading him that we are made to feel distinctly, how many successive conditions of humanity, and states of the human mind, are habitually confounded under the appellation of the Middle Ages. To common perception, those times are like a distant range of mountains, all melted together into one cloudlike barrier. To M. Michelet, they are like the same range on a nearer approach, resolved into its separate mountain masses, with sloping sides overlapping one another, and gorges opening between them.

The spirit of an age is a part of its history which cannot be extracted literally from ancient records, but must be distilled from those arid materials by the chemistry of the writer's own mind; and whoever attempts this, will expose himself to the imputation of substituting imaginations for facts, writing history by divination, &c. These accusations have been often brought against M. Michelet, and we will not take upon ourselves to say that they are never just; we think he is not seldom the dupe of his own ingenuity. But it is a mistake to suppose that a man of genius will be oftener wrong, in his views of history, than a dull unimaginative prosaist. Not only are the very errors of the one more instructive than the commonplaces of the other, but he commits fewer of them. It by no means follows, that he who cannot see so far as another, must, therefore, see

more safely. To be incapable of discerning what is, gives no exemption from believing what is not ; and there is no perversion of history by persons who think, equal to those daily committed by writers who never rise to the height of an original idea.

It is true, a person of lively apprehension and fertile invention, relying upon his sagacity, may neglect the careful study of original documents. But M. Michelet is a man of deep erudition and extensive research. He has a high reputation among the French learned for his industry ; while his official position, which connects him with the archives of the kingdom, has given him access to a rich source of unexplored authorities, of which he has made abundant use in his later volumes, and which promise to be of still greater importance in those yet to come. Even in its mere facts, therefore, this history is considerably in advance of all previously written. That his accuracy is not vulnerable in any material point, may be believed on the authority of the sober and right-minded Thierry, who, in the preface to the *Récits*, in a passage where, though Michelet is not named, he is evidently pointed at, blames his method as a dangerous one, but acquits M. Michelet himself as having been saved by 'conscientious studies' from the errors into which his example is likely to betray young writers. The carefulness of his investigations has been impugned on minor points. An English Review has made a violent attack upon his account of Boniface VIII.; and, from his references, (which are always copious,) it does not appear that he had consulted the Italian authorities on which the reviewer relies. But it is hard to try an historian by the correctness of his details in incidents only collaterally connected with his subject. We ourselves perceive that he sometimes trusts to memory, and is inaccurate in trifles ; but the true question is—Has he falsified the essential character of any of the greater events of the time about which he writes ? If he has not, but, on the contrary, has placed many of these events in a truer light, and rendered their character more intelligible, than any former historian, to rectify his small mistakes will be a very fitting employment for those who have the necessary information, and nothing more important to do.

The History, though a real narrative, not a dissertation, is, in all its earlier parts, a greatly abridged one. The writer dwells only on the great facts which paint their period, or on things which it appears necessary to present in a new light. As, in his progress, however, he came into contact with his new materials, his design has extended ; and the fourth and fifth volumes, embracing the confused period of the wars of Edward III. and Henry V., contain, though in a most condensed style, a tolerably minute

recital of events. It is impossible for us to make any approach to an abstract of the contents of so large a work. We must be satisfied with touching cursorily upon some of the passages of history, on which M. Michelet's views are the most original, or otherwise most deserving of notice.

In the first volume, he is on ground which had already been broken and well turned over by M. Thierry. But some one was still wanting who should write the history of the time, in a connected narrative, from M. Thierry's point of view. M. Michelet has done this, and more. He has not only understood, like his predecessor, the character of the age of transition, in which the various races, conquered and conquering, were mixed on French soil without being blended; but he has endeavoured to assign to the several elements of that confused mixture, the share of influence which belongs to them over the subsequent destinies of his country.

It was natural that a subjective historian, one who looks, above all, to the internal moving forces of human affairs, should attach great historical importance to the consideration of Races. This subject, on British soil, has usually fallen into hands little competent to treat it soberly, or on true principles of induction; but of the great influence of Race in the production of National Character, no reasonable enquirer can now doubt. As far as history, and social circumstances generally, are concerned, how little resemblance can be traced between the French and the Irish—in national character, how much! The same ready excitability; the same impetuosity when excited, yet the same readiness under excitement to submit to the severest discipline—a quality which at first might seem to contradict impetuosity, but which arises from that very vehemence of character with which it appears to conflict, and is equally conspicuous in revolutions of Three Days, temperance movements, and meetings on the hill of Tara. The same sociability and demonstrativeness—the same natural refinement of manners, down to the lowest rank—in both, the characteristic weakness an inordinate vanity, their more serious moral deficiency the absence of a sensitive regard for truth. Their ready susceptibility to influences, while it makes them less steady in right, makes them also less pertinacious in wrong, and renders them, under favourable circumstances of culture, reclaimable and improvable (especially through their more generous feelings) in a degree to which the more obstinate races are strangers. To what, except their Gaelic blood, can we ascribe all this similarity between populations, the whole course of whose national history has been so different? We say Gaelic, not

Celtic, because the Kymri of Wales and Brittany, though also called Celts, and notwithstanding a close affinity in language, have evinced throughout history, in many respects, an opposite type of character; more like the Spanish Iberians than either the French or Irish—individual instead of gregarious, tough and obstinate instead of impressible—instead of the most disciplinable, one of the most intractable Races among mankind.

Historians who preceded M. Michelet had seen chiefly the Frankish, or the Roman element, in the formation of modern France. M. Michelet calls attention to the Gaelic element. ‘The foundation of the French people,’ he says,* ‘is the youthful, soft, and mobile race of the Gaels, *bruyante*, sensual, and *légère*—prompt to learn, prompt to despise, greedy of new things.’ To the ready impressibility of this race, and the easy reception it gave to foreign influences, he attributes the progress made by France. ‘Such children require severe preceptors. They will meet with such, both from the south and from the north. Their mobility will be fixed, their softness hardened and strengthened. Reason must be added to instinct, reflection to impulse.’

It is certain that no people, in a semi-barbarous state, ever received a foreign civilization more rapidly than the French Celts. In a century after Julius Cæsar, not only the south, the *Gallia Narbonensis*, but the whole east of Gaul, from Treves and Cologne southwards, were already almost as Roman as Italy itself. The Roman institutions and ideas took a deeper root in Gaul than in any other province of the Roman empire, and remained long predominant, wherever no great change was effected in the population by the ravages of the invaders. But, along with this capacity of improvement, M. Michelet does not find in the Gauls that voluntary loyalty of man to man, that free adherence, founded on confiding attachment, which was characteristic of the Germanic tribes, and of which, in his view, the feudal relation was the natural result. It is to these qualities, to personal devotedness and faith in one another, that he ascribes the universal success of the Germanic tribes in overpowering the Celtic. He finds already in the latter the root of that passion for equality which distinguishes modern France; and which, when unbalanced by a strong principle of sympathetic union, has always, he says, prevented the pure Celts from becoming a nation. Every where among the Celts, he finds equal division of inheritances, while in the Germanic races primogeniture easily esta-

* Vol. i. p. 129.

blished itself—an institution which, in a rude state of society, he justly interprets as equivalent to the permanence of the household, the non-separation of families.

We think that M. Michelet has here carried the influence of Race too far, and that the difference is better explained by diversity of position, than by diversity of character in the Races. The conquerors, a small body scattered over a large territory, could not sever their interests, could not relax the bonds which held them together. They were for many generations encamped in the country, rather than settled in it; they were a military band, requiring a military discipline; and the separate members could not afford to detach themselves from each other, or from their chief. Similar circumstances would have produced similar results among the Gauls themselves. They were by no means without something analogous to the German *comitatus*, (as the voluntary bond of adherence, of the most sacred kind, between followers and a leader of their choice, is called by the Roman historians.) The *devoti* of the Gauls and Aquitanians, mentioned by M. Michelet himself, on the authority of Cæsar* and Athenæus, were evidently not clansmen. Some such relation may be traced in many other warlike tribes. We find it even among the most obstinately personal of all the Races of antiquity, the Iberians of Spain;—witness the Roman Sertorius, and his Spanish body-guard, who slew themselves, to the last man, before his funeral pile. ‘Ce principe d’attachement à un chef, ce dévouement personnel, cette religion de l’homme envers l’homme,’† is thus by no means peculiar to the Teutonic races. And our author’s favourite idea of the ‘profonde impersonnalité’‡ inherent in the Germanic genius, though we are far from saying that there is no foundation for it, surely requires some limitation. It will hardly, for example, be held true of the English; yet the English are a Germanic people. They, indeed, have rather (or at least had) the characteristic which M. Michelet predicates of the Celts, (thinking, apparently, rather of the Kymri than of the Gaels,) ‘le génie de la personnalité libre;’ a tendency to revolt against compulsion, to hold fast to their

* Aducantanus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum DC devotis, quos illi soldurios appellant: quorum hæc est conditio, uti omnibus in vita commodis una cum his fruantur quorum se amicitiae dediderint: si quid iis per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant, aut sibi mortem consciscant: neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui, eo interfecto cujus se amicitiae devovisset, mori recusaret.—*De Bello Gallico*, iii. 22.

† Michelet. vol. i. p. 168.

‡ Ib. p. 171.

own, and assert the claims of individuality against those of society and authority. But though many of M. Michelet's speculations on the characteristics of Races appear to us contestable, they are always suggestive of thought. The next thing to having a question solved, is to have it well raised. M. Michelet's are views by which a thinker, even if he rejects them, seldom fails to profit.

From the Races our author passes to the provinces, which, by their successive aggregation, composed the French monarchy. France is, in the main, peopled by a mixed race; but it contains several populations of pure race at its remoter extremities. It includes several distinct languages, and, above all, a great variety of climate, soil, and situation. Next to hereditary organization, geographical peculiarities have a more powerful influence than any other natural agency in the formation of national character. Any one, capable of such speculations, will read with strong interest the review of the various provinces of France, which occupies the first hundred and thirty pages of our author's second volume. In this brilliant sketch, he surveys the local circumstances, and national peculiarities of each province, and compares them with the type of character which belongs to its inhabitants; as shown in the history of each province, in the eminent individuals who have sprung from it, and in the results of intelligent personal observation even in the present day. We say *even*, because M. Michelet is not unaware of the tendency of provincial and local peculiarities to disappear. A strenuous assertor of the power of mind over matter, of will over spontaneous propensities, culture over nature, he holds that local characteristics lose their importance as history advances. In a rude age, the 'fatalities' of race and geographical position are absolute. In the progress of society, human forethought and purpose, acting by means of uniform institutions and modes of culture, tend more and more to efface the pristine differences. And he attributes, in no small degree, the greatness of France to the absence of any marked local peculiarities in the predominant part of her population. Paris, and an extensive region all round—from the borders of Brittany to those of Champagne, from the northern extremity of Picardy to the mountains of Auvergne—is distinguished by no marked natural features; and its inhabitants, a more mixed population than any other in France, have no distinct, well-defined individuality of character. This very deficiency, or what might seem so, makes them the ready recipients of ideas and modes of action from all sides, and qualifies them to bind together heterogeneous populations in harmonious union, by receiving the influence and assuming the character of each, as far

as may be, without exclusion of the rest. In those different populations (on the other hand,) M. Michelet finds an abundant variety of provincial characteristics, of all shades and degrees, up to those obstinate individualities which cling with the tenacity of iron to their own usages, and yield only after a long and dogged resistance to the general movement of humanity. In these portraits of the provinces there is much to admire, and occasionally something to startle. The form and vesture are more poetical than philosophical; the sketch of Brittany wants only verse to be a fine poem. But, though fancifully expressed, there is, in this survey of France, much more which seems, than which is, fanciful. There is, as we believe, for much, if not most of it, a foundation of sober reason; and out of its poetry we could extract an excellent treatise in unexceptionable prose, did not our limits admonish us to hurry to those parts of the work which are of more universal interest.

From this place the book becomes a picture of the middle ages, in a series of *Tableaux*. The facts are not delivered in the dry form of chronological annals, but are grouped round a certain number of central figures or leading events, selected so that each half century has at least one *Tableau* belonging to it. The groups, we need scarcely add, represent the mind of the age, not its mere outward physiognomy and costume. The successive titles of the chapters will form an appropriate catalogue to this new kind of historical picture gallery:—

‘ Chap. I. The year 1000—The French King and the French Pope, Robert and Gerbert—Feudal France.—II. Eleventh Century—Gregory VII.—Alliance between the Normans and the Church—Conquests of Naples and England.—III. The Crusade.—IV. Consequences of the Crusade—The Communes—Abailard—First half of the Twelfth Century.—V. The King of France and the King of England, Louis-le-Jeune and Henry Plantagenet—Second Crusade—Humiliation of Louis—Thomas Becket—Humiliation of Henry.—VI. The year 1100—Innocent III.—The Pope, by the arms of the Northern French, prevails over the King of England and the Emperor of Germany, the Greek Empire and the Albigeois—Greatness of the King of France.—VII. The last Chapter continued—Ruin of John—Defeat of the Emperor—War of the Albigeois.—VIII. First half of the Thirteenth Century—Mysticism—Louis IX.—Sanctity of the King of France.—IX. Struggle between the Mendicant Orders and the University—St Thomas—Doubts of St Louis—The Passion as a principle of Art in the Middle Ages.’

The next chapter, being the first of the third volume, is headed, ‘The Sicilian Vespers;’ the second, ‘Philippe-le-Bel and Boniface VIII.’

This arrangement of topics promises much, and the promise is

well redeemed. Every one of the chapters we have cited is full of interesting *aperçus*, and fruitful in suggestions of thought.

Forced to make a selection, we shall choose among the features of the middle age, as here presented, one or two of the most interesting, and the most imperfectly understood. Of the individual figures in our author's canvass, none is more impressive than Hildebrand. Of the moral and social phenomena which he depicts, the greatest is the Papacy.

Respecting the Papal Church, and that, its greatest Pontiff, the views of our author are such as, from the greater number of English readers, can scarcely hope for ready acceptance. They are far removed from those either of our Protestant or of our sceptical historians. They are so unlike Hume, that they stand a chance of being confounded with Lingard. Such, however, as they are, we think them well worth knowing and considering. They are, in substance, the opinions of almost every historical enquirer in France, who has any pretensions to thought or research, be he Catholic, Protestant, or infidel. The time is past when any French thinker, worthy the name, looked upon the Catholic Hierarchy as having *always* been the base and tyrannical thing which, to a great extent, it ultimately became. No one now confounds what the Church was, when its prelates and clergy universally believed what they taught, with what it was when they had ceased to believe. No one argues—from the conduct which they even conscientiously pursued when the human intellect, having got beyond the Church, became its most formidable foe—that it must therefore have been equally an enemy to improvement when it was at the head, instead of the rear of civilization; when all that was instructed in Europe was comprised within its pale, and it was the authorized champion of intelligence and self-control against military and predatory violence. Even the fraud and craft by which it often aided itself in its struggles with brute force; even the ambition and selfishness by which, in its very best days, its nobler aims, like those of all other classes or bodies, were continually tarnished—do not disguise from impartial thinkers on the Continent, the fact that it was the great improver and civilizer of Europe.

That the clergy were the preservers of all letters and all culture, of the writings and even the traditions of literary antiquity, is too evident to have been ever disputed. But for them there would have been a complete break, in Western Europe, between the ancient and modern world. Books would have disappeared, and even Christianity, if it survived at all, would have existed merely as another form of the old barbarous superstitions. Some, too, are aware of the services rendered even to

material civilization by the Monastic associations of Italy and France, after the great reform by St Benedict. Unlike the useless communities of contemplative ascetics in the East, they were diligent in tilling the earth and fabricating useful products; they knew and taught that temporal work may also be a spiritual exercise; and, protected by their sacred character from depredation, they set the first example to Europe of industry conducted on a large scale by free labour. But these things are commonly regarded as good which came out of evil;—incidental benefits, arising casually, or providentially, from an institution radically vicious. It would do many English thinkers much good to acquaint themselves with the grounds on which the best continental minds, without disguising one particle of the evil which existed, openly or latently, in the Romish Church, are on the whole convinced that it was not only a beneficent institution, but the only means capable of being now assigned, by which Europe could have been reclaimed from barbarism.

It is, no doubt, the characteristic evil incident to a corporation of priests, that the exaltation of their order becomes, in and for itself, a primary object, to which the ends of the institution are often sacrificed. That exaltation is the strongest interest of all its members, the bad equally with the good; for it is the means by which both hope to attain their ends. The maintenance of their influence is to them what the maintenance of its revenue is to a temporal government—the condition of its existence. The Romish Church, being more powerfully organized and more thoroughly disciplined than any other, pursued this end with inflexible energy and perseverance, and often by the most culpable means. False miracles, forged donations, religious persecutions—these things we have no desire to extenuate; but he must be wretchedly ignorant of human nature, who believes that any great or durable edifice of moral power was ever raised chiefly by such means. It is in the decline, in the decrepitude of religious systems, that force and artifice come into the first rank as expedients for maintaining a little longer what is left of their dominion. Deep sincerity, entire absorption of themselves in their task, were assuredly as indispensable conditions, in the more eminent of the Popes, of the success which they met with, as in the heroes of the Reformation. In such men the power of the hierarchy might well become a passion; but the extension of that power was a legitimate object, for the sake of the great things which they had to accomplish by it.

Who, in the middle ages, were worthier of power than the clergy? Did they not need all, and more than all the influence they could acquire, when they could not be kings or emperors,

and when kings and emperors were among those whose passion and arrogance they had to admonish and govern? The great Ambrose, refusing absolution to Theodosius until he performed penance for a massacre, was a type of what these men had to do. In an age of violence and *brigandage*, who but the Church could insist on justice, and forbearance, and reconciliation? In an age when the weak were prostrate at the feet of the strong, who was there but the Church to plead to the strong for the weak? They were the depositaries of the only moral power to which the great were amenable; they alone had a right to remind kings and potentates of responsibility; to speak to them of humility, charity, and peace. Even in the times of the first ferocious invaders, the '*Récits*' of M. Thierry (though the least favourable of the modern French historians to the Romish clergy) show, at what peril to themselves, the prelates of the Church continually stepped between the oppressor and his victim. Almost all the great social improvements which took place, were accomplished under their influence. They at all times took part with the kings against the feudal anarchy. The enfranchisement of the mass of the people from personal servitude, they not only favoured, but inculcated as a Christian duty. They were the authors of the '*Truce of God*,' that well-known attempt to mitigate the prevailing brutalities, by a forced suspension of acts of vengeance and private war during four days and five nights of every week. They could not succeed in enforcing this periodical armistice, which was too much in advance of the time. Their worst offence was, that they connived at acts of unjust acquisition by friends and supporters of the Pope; and encouraged unprovoked aggressions, by orthodox princes, against less obedient sons of the Church. We may add, that they were seldom favourable to civil liberty; which, indeed, in the rude form in which its first germs grew up, not as an institution, but as a principle of resistance to institutions, found little favour with speculative men in the middle ages, to whom, by a not unnatural prejudice at such a time, peace and obedience seemed the one condition of good. But, in another sense, the Church was eminently a democratic institution. To a temporal society in which all rank depended on birth, it opposed a spiritual society in which the source of rank was personal qualities; in which the distinctions of people and aristocracy, freeman and bondman, disappeared—which recruited itself from all ranks—in which a serf might rise to be a cardinal, or even a pope; while to rise at all to any eminence, almost always required talents, and at least a reputation for virtue. In one of the earliest combinations made by the feudal nobles against the clergy, the

league of the French Seigneurs in 1246, it stands in the foremost rank of accusation against them, that they were the ' sons ' of serfs.*

Now we say that the priesthood never could have stood their ground, in such an age, against kings and their powerful vassals, as an independent moral authority, entitled to advise, to reprimand, and, if need were, to denounce, if they had not been bound together into an European body, under a government of their own. They must otherwise have groveled from the first in that slavish subservience into which they sank at last. No local, no merely national organization, would have sufficed. The state has too strong a hold upon an exclusively national corporation. Nothing but an authority recognised by many nations, and not essentially dependent upon any one, could, in that age, have been adequate to the post. It required a Pope to speak with authority to Kings and Emperors. Had an individual priest even had the courage to tell them that they had violated the law of God, his voice, not being the voice of the Church, would not have been heeded. That the Pope, when he pretended to depose Kings, or made war upon them with temporal arms, went beyond his province, needs hardly, in the present day, be insisted upon. But when he claimed the right of censuring and denouncing them, with whatever degree of solemnity, in the name of the moral law which all recognised, he assumed a function necessary at all times, and which, in those days, no one except the Church could assume, or was in any degree qualified to exercise. Time must show if the organ we now have for the performance of this office—if the censure by newspapers and public meetings, which has succeeded to censure by the Church—will be found in the end less liable to perversion and abuse than that was. However this may be, the latter form was the only one possible in those days.

Were the Popes, then, so entirely in the wrong, as historians have deemed them, in their disputes with the Emperors, and with the Kings of England and France? Doubtless they, no more than their antagonists, knew where to stop short. Doubtless, in the ardour of the conflict, they laid claim to powers not compatible with a purely spiritual authority, and occasionally put forth pretensions, which, if completely successful, would have plunged Europe into the torpor of an Egyptian hierarchy. But there never was any danger lest they should succeed too far. The Church was always the weaker party, and occupied essentially a defensive position.

* Michelet, vol. ii. p. 615, note.

We cannot feel any doubt that Gregory VII., whatever errors he may have committed, was right in the great objects which he proposed to himself. His life is memorable by two things—his contest with the State, and the reform in the Church itself, which preceded it. The Church was rapidly becoming secularized. He checked the evil by enforcing the celibacy of the clergy. Protestant writers have looked upon this ordinance of the Catholic Church, as the joint product of pontifical ambition and popular fanaticism. We would not deny that fanaticism, or rather religious asceticism, had much to do with the popular feeling on the subject, and was perhaps the only lever by which the work could possibly have been accomplished. But we believe that in that age, without the institution of celibacy, the efficiency of the Church as an instrument of human culture was gone. In the early vigorous youth of the feudal system, when every thing tended to become hereditary, when every temporal function had already become so, the clerical office was rapidly becoming hereditary too. The clergy were becoming a Braminical Caste, or worse—a mere appendage of the Caste of soldiery. Already the prelacies and abbacies were filled by the younger brothers of the feudal nobility, who, like their elder brethren, spent the greater part of their time in hunting and war. These had begun to transmit their benefices to their sons, and give them in marriage with their daughters. The smaller preferments would have become the prey of their smaller retainers. Against this evil, what other remedy than that which Gregory adopted did the age afford? Could it remain unremedied?

And what, when impartially considered, is the protracted dispute about investitures, except a prolongation of the same struggle? For what end did the princes of the middle ages desire the appointment of prelates? To make their profit of the revenues by keeping the sees vacant; to purchase tools, and reward adherents; at best, to keep the office in a state of complete subservience. It was no immoderate pretension in the spiritual authority to claim the free choice of its own instruments. The emperors had previously asserted a right to nominate the Pope himself, and had exercised that right in many instances. Had they succeeded, the spiritual power would have become that mere instrument of despotism which it became at Constantinople—which it is in Russia—which the Popes of Avignon became in the hands of the French kings. And even had the Pope maintained his own personal independence, the nomination of the national clergy by their respective monarchs, with no effectual concurrence of his, would have made the national clergy take part with the kings against their own order;—as a

large section of them always did, and as the whole clergy of France and England ended by doing, because in those countries the kings, in the main, succeeded in keeping possession of the appointment to benefices.

Even for what seems in the abstract a still more objectionable pretension, the claim to the exemption of ecclesiastics from secular jurisdiction, which has scandalized so grievously most of our English historians, there is much more to be said than those historians were aware of. What was it, after all, but the assertion, in behalf of the clergy, of the received English principle of being tried by their peers? The secular tribunals were the courts of a rival power, often in actual conflict with the clergy, always jealous of them, always ready to make use of its jurisdiction as a means of wreaking its vengeance, or serving its ambition; and were stained, besides, with the grossest corruption and tyranny. 'These rights,' says M. Michelet,* 'gave rise, no doubt, to great abuses; many crimes were committed by priests, and committed with impunity; but when one reflects on the frightful barbarity, the execrable fiscality of the lay tribunals in the twelfth century, one is forced to admit that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was then an anchor of safety. It spared, perhaps, the guilty; but how often it saved the innocent! The Church was almost the only road by which the despised races were able to recover any ascendancy. We see this by the example of the two Saxons, Breakspear (Adrian IV.) and Becket. The liberties of the Church in that age were those of mankind.'

On the other hand, Henry II., by the Constitutions of Clarendon, assumed to himself and his great justiciary a veto on the purely spiritual act of excommunication—the last resort of the Church—the ultimate sanction on which she depended for her moral jurisdiction. No one of the king's tenants was to be excommunicated without his consent. On which side was here the usurpation? And, in this pretension, Henry was supported by the great majority of his own bishops; so little cause was there really to dread any undue preponderance of Popes over Kings.

The Papacy was in the end defeated, even in its reasonable claims. It had to give up, in the main, all the contested points. As the monarchies of Europe were consolidated, and the Kings grew more powerful, the Church became more dependent. The last Pope who dared to defy a bad king, was made a prisoner in his palace, insulted, and struck by the emissary of the tyrant. That Pope died broken-hearted; his immediate successor died

* Vol. ii. p. 343.

poisoned. The next was Clement V., in whom, for the first time, the Church sank into the abject tool of secular tyranny. With him commenced that new era of the Papacy, which made it the horror and disgust of the then rapidly improving European mind, until the Reformation and its consequences closed the period which we commonly call the middle age.

We know it may be said, that, long before this time, venality was a current and merited accusation against the Papal court. We often find Rome denounced, by the indignation of contemporaries, as a market in which every thing might be bought. All periods of supposed purity in the administration of human affairs are the dreams of a golden age. We well know that there was only occasionally a Pope who acted consistently on any high ideal of the pontifical character; that many were sordid and vicious, and those who were not, had often sordid and vicious persons around them. Who can estimate the extent to which the power of the Church, for realizing the noble aims of its more illustrious ornaments, was crippled and made infirm by these shortcomings? But, to the time of Innocent III., and even of Boniface VIII., we are unable to doubt that it was on the whole a source of good, and of such good as could not have been provided, for that age, by any other means with which we can conceive such an age to be compatible.

Among the Epochs in the progressive movement of middle-age history, which M. Michelet has been the first to bring clearly and vividly before us, there is none more interesting than the great awakening of the human mind which immediately followed the period of the First Crusade. Others before him had pointed out the influence of the Crusade in generating the feeling of a common Christendom; in counteracting the localizing influence of the feudal institutions, and raising up a kind of republic of chivalry and Christianity; in drawing closer the ties between chiefs and vassals, or even serfs, by the need which they mutually experienced of each other's services; in giving to the rude barons of Western Europe a more varied range of ideas, and a taste for at least the material civilization, which they beheld for the first time in the dominions of the Greek Emperors and the Saracen Soldans. M. Michelet remarks, that the effect even upon the religion of the time, was to soften its antipathies and weaken its superstitions. The hatred of Mussulmans was far less intense after the Crusade than at the beginning of it. The notion of a peculiar sanctity inherent in places, was greatly weakened when Christians had become the masters of the Holy Sepulchre, and found themselves neither better nor happier in consequence.

But these special results bear no proportion to the general start which was taken, about this time, by the human mind, and which, though it cannot be ascribed to the Crusade, was without doubt greatly favoured by it. That remarkable expedition was the first great event of modern times, which had an European and a Christian interest—an interest not of nation, or place, or rank, but which the lowest serfs had in common, and more than in common, with the loftiest barons. When the soil is moved, all sorts of seeds fructify. The serfs now began to think themselves human beings. The beginning of the great popular political movement of the middle ages—the formation of the *Communes*—is almost coincident with the First Crusade. Some fragments of the eminently dramatic history of this movement are related in the concluding portion of M. Thierry's 'Letters on the History of France.' Contemporaneously with this temporal enfranchisement began the emancipation of the human mind. Formidable heresies broke out: it was the era of Berengarius, who doubted Transubstantiation—of Roscelinus, the founder of Nominalism, and questioner of the received doctrine respecting the Trinity. The very answers of the orthodox to these heretical writings, as may be seen in M. Michelet,* were lessons of free-thinking. The principle of free speculation found a still more remarkable representative, though clear of actual heresy, in the most celebrated of the schoolmen, Abailard. The popularity and European influence of his rationalizing metaphysics, as described by contemporary authorities, must surprise those who conceive the age as one of rare and difficult communications, and without interest in letters. To silence this one man, required the eminent religious ascendancy of the most illustrious churchman of the age, Bernard of Clairvaux. The acquirements and talents of the noble-minded woman, whose name is linked for all time with that of Abailard—a man, so far as we have the means of judging, not her superior even in intellect, and in every other respect unworthy of her—are illustrative of M. Michelet's views on the change which was taking place in the social condition and estimation of women:—

'The restoration of woman, which had commenced with Christianity, took place chiefly in the twelfth century. A slave in the East, even in the Greek gynæceum a recluse, emancipated by the jurisprudence of the Roman empire, she was recognized by the new religion as the equal of man. Still Christianity, but just escaped from the sensuality of Paganism, dreaded woman, and distrusted her; or rather, men were conscious

* Vol. ii. pp. 279, 280.

of weakness, and endeavoured by hardness and scornfulness to fortify themselves against their strongest temptation. . . . When Gregory VII. aimed at detaching the clergy from the ties of a worldly life, there was a new outburst of feeling against that dangerous Eve, whose seductions had ruined Adam, and still pursued him in his sons.

‘A movement in the contrary direction commenced in the twelfth century. Free mysticism undertook to upraise what sacerdotal severity had dragged in the mire. It was especially a Breton, Robert d’Arbrissel, who fulfilled this mission of love. He re-opened to women the bosom of Christ; he founded asylums for them; he built Fontévrault; and there were soon other Fontévraults throughout Christendom. . . . There took place insensibly a great religious revolution. The Virgin became the deity of the world: she usurped almost all the temples and the altars. Piety turned itself into an enthusiasm of chivalrous gallantry. The mother of God was proclaimed pure and without taint. The Church of Lyons, always mystical in its tendencies, celebrated, in 1134, the feast of the Immaculate Conception—thus exalting woman in the character of divine maternity, at the precise time when Héloïse was giving expression, in her letters, to the pure disinterestedness of love. Woman reigned in heaven, and reigned on earth. We see her taking a part, and a leading part, in the affairs of the world. . . . Louis VII. dates his acts from the coronation of his wife Adela. Women sat as judges not only in poetical contests and courts of love, but, with and on a par with their husbands, in serious affairs: the King of France expressly recognized it as their right. . . . Excluded up to that time from successions by the feudal barbarism, they every where became admitted to them in the first half of the twelfth century: in England, in Castile, in Arragon, in Jerusalem, in Burgundy, Flanders, Hainault, Vermandois, Aquitaine, Provence, and the Lower Languedoc. The rapid extinction of males, the softening of manners, and the progress of equity, re-opened inheritances to women. They transported sovereignties into foreign houses, accelerated the agglomeration of states, and prepared the consolidation of great monarchies.’—(Vol. ii. pp. 297–302.)

Half a century further on, the scene is changed. A new act of the great drama is now transacting. The seeds, scattered fifty years before, have grown up and overshadow the world. We are no longer in the childhood, but in the stormy youth of free speculation:—

‘The face of the world was sombre at the close of the twelfth century. The old order was in peril, and the new had not yet begun. It was no longer the mere material struggle of the Pope and the emperor, chasing each other alternately from Rome, as in the days of Henry IV. and Gregory VII. In the eleventh century the evil was on the surface; in 1200, at the core. A deep and terrible malady had seized upon Christendom. Gladly would it have consented to return to the quarrel of investitures, and have had to combat only on the question of the ring and crosier. In Gregory’s time, the cause of the Church was the cause

of liberty; it had maintained that character to the time of Alexander III., the chief of the Lombard league. But Alexander himself had not dared to support Thomas Becket; he had defended the liberties of Italy, and betrayed those of England. The Church was about to detach herself from the great movement of the world. Instead of preceding and guiding it, as she had done hitherto, she strove to fix it, to arrest time on its passage, to stop the earth which was revolving under her feet. Innocent III. seemed to succeed in the attempt; Boniface VIII. perished in it.

‘A solemn moment, and of infinite sadness. The hopes which inspired the Crusade had abandoned the earth. Authority no longer seemed unassailable; it had promised, and had deceived. Liberty began to dawn, but in a hundred fantastical and repulsive shapes, confused and convulsive, multiform, deformed. . . .

‘In this spiritual anarchy of the twelfth century, which the irritated and trembling Church had to attempt to govern, one thing shone forth above others—a prodigiously audacious sentiment of the moral power and greatness of man. The hardy expression of the Pelagians—“Christ had nothing more than I; I, too, by virtue, can raise myself to divinity”—is reproduced in the twelfth century in barbarous and mystical forms. . . . Messiahs every where arise. . . . A Messiah appears in Antwerp, and all the populace follow him; another, in Bretagne, seems to revive the ancient gnosticism of Ireland. Amaury of Chartres, and his Breton disciple, David of Dinan, teach that every Christian is materially a member of Christ; in other words, that God is perpetually incarnated in the human race. The Son, say they, has reigned long enough; let the Holy Ghost now reign. . . . Nothing equals the audacity of these doctors, who mostly teach in the University of Paris, (authorized by Philippe-Auguste in 1200.) Abailard, supposed to be crushed, lives and speaks in his disciple Peter Lombard, who from Paris gives the law to European philosophy; they reckon nearly five hundred commentators upon this schoolman. The spirit of innovation has now acquired two powerful auxiliaries. Jurisprudence is growing up by the side of theology, which it undermines; the Popes forbid the clergy to be professors of law, and, by so doing, merely open public teaching to laymen. The metaphysics of Aristotle are brought from Constantinople, while his commentators, imported from Spain, will presently be translated from the Arabic by order of the kings of Castile, and the Italian princes of the house of Suabia, Frederic II., and Manfred. This is no less than the invasion of Greece and the East into Christian philosophy. Aristotle takes his place almost beside the Saviour. At first prohibited by the Popes, afterwards tolerated, he reigns in the professorial chairs: Aristotle publicly, secretly the Arabs and the Jews, with the pantheism of Averroës and the subtleties of the Cabala. Dialectics enters into possession of all subjects, and stirs up all the boldest questions. Simon of Tournai teaches at pleasure the *pour* and the *contre*. One day when he had delighted the school of Paris, by proving marvellously the truth of the Christian religion, he suddenly exclaimed,

“O little Jesus, little Jesus! how I have glorified thy law! If I chose, I could still more easily depreciate it.”—(Vol. ii. pp. 392–396.)

He then vigorously sketches the religious enthusiasts of Flanders and the Rhine, the Vaudois of the Alps, and the Albigeois of Southern France, and proceeds:—

‘What must not have been, in this danger of the Church, the trouble and inquietude of its visible head? . . .

‘The Pope at that time was a Roman, Innocent III.: a man fitted to the time. A great lawyer, accustomed on all questions to consult established right, he examined himself, and believed that the right was on his side. And, in truth, the Church had still in her favour the immense majority—the voice of the people, which is that of God. She had actual possession, ancient, so ancient that it might be deemed prescriptive. The Church was the defendant in the cause, the recognized proprietor, who was in present occupancy, and had the title-deeds; the written law seemed to speak for her. The plaintiff was human intellect; but it came too late, and, in its inexperience, took the wrong road, chicaning on texts instead of invoking principles. If asked what it would have, it could make no intelligible answer. All sorts of confused voices called for different things, and most of the assailants wished to retrograde rather than to advance. In politics, their ideas were modelled on the ancient republics; that is, town liberties, to the exclusion of the country. In religion, some wished to suppress the externals of worship, and revert, as they said, to the Apostles; others went further back, and returned to the Asiatic spirit, contending for two gods, or preferring the strict unity of Islamism.’—(Pp. 419–21.)

And, after describing the popular detestation which pursued these heretics—

‘Such appeared at that time the enemies of the Church—and the Church was people’—(*l’église était peuple*.) ‘The prejudices of the people, the sanguinary intoxication of their hatred and their terror, ascended through all ranks of the clergy to the Pope himself. It would be too unjust to human nature to deem that egoism or class-interest alone animated the chiefs of the Church. No—all indicates, that in the thirteenth century they were still convinced of their right. That right admitted, all means seemed good to them for defending it. Not for a mere human interest did St Dominic traverse the regions of the south, alone and unarmed, in the midst of a sectarian population whom he doomed to death, courting martyrdom with the same avidity with which he inflicted it; and, whatever may have been in the great and terrible Innocent III. the temptations of pride and vengeance, other motives animated him in the crusade against the Albigeois and the foundation of the Dominican Inquisition.’—(Pp. 422, 3.)

The temporal means by which the Church obtained a brief respite from the dangers which beset it, consisted in letting loose against the rich and heretical South, the fanaticism and rapacity

of the North. The spiritual expedient, far the more potent of the two, was the foundation of the Mendicant Orders.

We are too much accustomed to figure to ourselves what are called religious revivals, as a feature peculiar to Protestantism and to recent times. The phenomenon is universal. In no Christian church has the religious spirit flowed like a perennial fountain; it had ever its flux and reflux, like the tide. Its history is a series of alternations between religious laxity and religious earnestness. Monks themselves, in the organized form impressed upon it by St Benedict, was one of the incidents of a religious revival. We have already spoken of the great revival under Hildebrand. Rank has made us understand the religious revival within the pale of Romanism itself, which turned back the advancing torrent of the Reformation. As this was characterized by the foundation of the order of Jesuits, so were the Franciscans and Dominicans the result of a similar revival, and became its powerful instrument.

The mendicant orders—especially the most popular of them, the Franciscans—were the offspring of the freethinking which had already taken strong root in the European mind; but the freedom which they represented was freedom in alliance with the Church, rising up against the freedom which was at enmity with the Church, and anathematizing it. What is called, in France, mysticism—in England, religious enthusiasm—consists essentially in looking within instead of without; in relying upon an internal revelation from God to the individual believer, and receiving its principal inspirations from that, rather than from the authority of priests and teachers. St Francis of Assisi was such a man. Disowned by the Church, he might have been a heresiarch instead of a saint; but the Church needed men like him, and had the skill to make its instrument of the spirit which was preparing its destruction. ‘In proportion to the decline of authority,’ says M. Michelet, ‘and the diminution of the priestly influence on the popular mind, religious feeling, being no longer under the restraint of forms, expanded itself into mysticism.’* Making room for these mystics in the ecclesiastical system itself, directing their enthusiasm into the path for which it peculiarly qualified them, that of popular preaching, and never parting with the power of repressing any dangerous excess in those whom it retained in its allegiance, the Papacy could afford to give them the rein, and indulge within certain limits their most unsacerdotal preference of grace to the law.

* Vol. iii. p. 195.

The career and character of St Francis and his early followers are graphically delineated by M. Michelet.* As usual with devotees of his class, his great practical precept was the love of God; love which sought all means of demonstrating itself—now by ecstasies, now by austerities like those of an Indian fakcer—but also by love and charity to all creatures. In all things which had life, and in many which had not, he recognized children of God: he invoked the birds to join in gratitude and praise; he parted with his cloak to redeem a lamb from the slaughter. His followers ‘wandered barefooted over Europe, always run after by the crowd: in their sermons, they brought the sacred mysteries, as it were, on the stage; laughing at Christmas, weeping on Good Friday, developing, without reserve, all that Christianity possesses of dramatic elements.’ The effect of such a band of missionaries must have been great in rousing and feeding dormant devotional feelings; they were not less influential in regulating those feelings, and turning into the established catholic channels those vagaries of private enthusiasm which might well endanger the Church, since they already threatened society itself. The spirit of religious independence had descended to the miserable, and was teaching them that God had not commanded them to endure their misery. It was a lesson for which they were not yet ripe. ‘Mysticism,’ says our author,† ‘had already produced its most terrible fruit, hatred of the law; the wild enthusiasm of religious and political liberty. This demagogic character of mysticism, which so clearly manifested itself in the *Jacqueries* of the subsequent ages, especially in the revolt of the Swabian peasants in 1525, and of the Anabaptists in 1538, appeared already in the ‘insurrection of the *Pastoureaux*,’ during the reign of St Louis. These unhappy people, who were peasantry of the lowest class, and, like all other insurgents of that class, perished miserably—*dispersi sunt, et quasi canes rabidi passim detruncati*, are the words of Matthew Paris—were avowed enemies of the priests, whom they are said to have massacred, and administered the sacraments themselves. They recognized as their chief, a man whom they called the grand master of Hungary, and who pretended to hold in his hand, which he kept constantly closed, a written commission from the Virgin Mary. So contradictory to history is that superficial notion of the middle ages, which looks upon the popular mind as strictly orthodox, and implicitly obedient to the Pope.

* Vol. ii. pp. 538—543.

† Ib. 579.

Though the Papacy survived, in apparently undiminished splendour, the crisis of which we have now spoken, the mental ascendancy of the priesthood was never again what it had been before. The most orthodox of the laity, even men whom the Church has canonized, were now comparatively emancipated; they thought *with* the Church, but they no longer let the Church think *for* them. This change in the times is exemplified in the character of St Louis—himself a lay brother of the Franciscan order; perhaps of all kings the one whose religious conscience was the most scrupulous, yet who learned his religious duty from his own strong and upright judgment, not from his confessor, nor from the Pope. He never shrank from resisting the Church when he had right on his side; and was himself a better sample, than any Pope contemporary with him, of the religious character of his age. The influences of the mystical spirit are easily discernible in his remarkable freedom, so rare in that age, from the slavery of the letter; which, as many anecdotes prove, he was always capable of sacrificing to the spirit, when any conflict arose between them.*

We are obliged to pass rapidly over some other topics, which justice to M. Michelet forbids us entirely to omit. We could extract many passages more illustrative than those we have quoted of his powers as a writer and an artist; such as the highly finished sketch† of the greatness and ruin of the unfortunate house of Hohenstaufen. We prefer to quote the remarks, of greater philosophical interest, with which he winds up one great period of history, and introduces another.

‘The Crusade of St Louis was the last Crusade. The middle age had produced its ideal, its flower, and its fruit: the time was come for it to perish. In Philippe-le-Bel, grandson of St Louis, modern times commence: the middle age is insulted in Boniface VIII., the Crusade burned at the stake in the persons of the Templars.

‘Crusades will be talked about for some time longer, the word will be often repeated; it is a sounding word, good for levying tenths and taxes. But princes, nobles, and popes know well, among themselves, what to think of it. In 1327, we find the Venetian, Sanuto, proposing to the Pope a commercial crusade. “It is not enough,” he said, “to invade Egypt,” he proposed “to ruin it.” The means he urged was to reopen to the Indian trade the channel of Persia, so that merchandize might no longer pass through Alexandria and Damietta. Thus does the modern spirit announce its approach: trade, not religion, will soon become the moving principle of great expeditions.’—(Vol. ii. pp. 607, 8.)

And further on, after quoting the bitter denunciation of Dante against the royal family of France—

‘ This furious Ghibelline invective, full of truth and of calumny, is the protest of the old perishing world against the ugly new world which succeeds it. This new world begins towards 1300 ; it opens with France, and with the odious figure of Philippe-le-Bel.

‘ When the French monarchy, founded by Philippe-Auguste, became extinguished in Louis XVI., at least it perished in the immense glory of a young republic, which, at its first onset, vanquished and revolutionized Europe. But the poor middle age, its Papacy, its chivalry, its feudality, under what hands did they perish ? Under those of the attorney, the fraudulent bankrupt, the false coiner.

‘ The bitterness of the poet is excusable ; this new world is a repulsive one. If it is more legitimate than that which it replaces, what eye, even that of a Dante, could see this at the time ? It is the offspring of the decrepit Roman law, of the old imperial fiscality. It is born a lawyer, a usurer ; it is a born Gascon, Lombard, and Jew.

‘ What is most revolting in this modern system, represented especially by France, is its perpetual self-contradiction, its instinctive duplicity, the naïve hypocrisy, so to speak, with which it attests by turns its two sets of principles, Roman and feudal. France looks like a lawyer in a cuirass, an attorney clad in mail ; she employs the feudal power to execute the sentences of the Roman and canon law. If this obedient daughter of the Church seizes upon Italy and chastises the Church, she chastises her as a daughter, obliged in conscience to correct her mother’s misconduct.’—(Vol. iii. pp. 31, 2.)

Yet this revolting exterior is but the mask of a great and necessary transformation ; the substitution of legal authority in the room of feudal violence and the *arbitrium* of the seigneur ; the formation, in short, for the first time, of a government. This government could not be carried on without money. The feudal jurisdictions, the feudal armies, cost nothing to the treasury ; the wages of all feudal services were the land : but the king’s judges and administrators, of whom he has now a host, must all be paid. ‘ It is not the fault of this government if it is ‘ greedy and ravenous. Ravenousness is its nature, its necessity, ‘ the foundation of its temperament. To satisfy this, it must ‘ alternately make use of cunning and force : the prince must be ‘ at once the Reynard and Isengrim of the old satire. To do him ‘ justice, he is not a lover of war : he prefers any other means of ‘ acquisition—purchase, for instance, or usury. He traffics, he ‘ buys, he exchanges ; these are means by which the strong man ‘ can honourably plunder his weaker friends.’ *

This need of money was, for several centuries, the *primum mobile* of European history. In England, it is the hinge on which our constitutional history has wholly turned: in France and elsewhere, it was the source, from this time forward, of all quarrels between the Kings and the Church. The clergy alone were rich, and money must be had. 'The confiscation of Church property was the idea of kings from the thirteenth century. The only difference is, that the Protestants took, and the Catholics made the Church give. Henry VIII. had recourse to schism—Francis I. to the *Concordat*. Who, in the fourteenth century, the King or the Church, was thenceforth to prey upon France?—that was the question.'—(Vol. iii. p. 50.)

To get money, was the purpose of Philip's quarrel with Boniface; to get money, he destroyed the Templars.

The proceedings against this celebrated Society occupy two most interesting chapters of M. Michelet's work. His view of the subject seems just and reasonable.

The suppression of the Order, if this had been all, was both inevitable and justifiable. Since the Crusades had ceased, and the crusading spirit died out, their existence and their vast wealth were grounded on false pretences. Among the mass of calumnies which, in order to make out a case for their destruction, their oppressor accumulated against them, there were probably some truths. It is not in the members of rich and powerful bodies which have outlived the ostensible purposes of their existence, that high examples of virtue need be sought. But it was not their private misconduct, real or imputed, that gave most aid to royal rapacity in effecting their ruin. What roused opinion against them—what gave something like a popular sanction to that atrocious trial in its early stages, before the sufferings and constancy of the victims had excited a general sympathy, was, according to our author, a mere mistake—a *mal-entendu*, arising from a change in the spirit of the times.

'The forms of reception into the Order were borrowed from the whimsical dramatic rites, the *mysteries*, which the ancient Church did not dread to connect with the most sacred doctrines and objects. The candidate for admission was presented in the character of a sinner, a bad Christian, a renegade. In imitation of St Peter, he denied Christ; the denial was pantomimically represented by spitting on the cross. The Order undertook to restore this renegade—to lift him to a height as great as the depth to which he had fallen. Thus, in the Feast of Fools, man offered to the Church which was to regenerate him, the homage even of his imbecility, of his infamy. These religious comedies, every day less understood, became more and more dangerous, more capable of scandalizing a prosaic age, which saw only the letter, and lost the meaning of the symbol.'—(Vol. iii. pp. 127, 128.)

This is not a mere fanciful hypothesis. M. Michelet has elsewhere shown that the initiation into the Guilds of Artificers, in the middle ages, was of this very character. The acolyte affected to be the most worthless character upon earth, and was usually made to perform some act symbolical of worthlessness: after which, his admission into the fraternity was to have the merit and honour of his reformation. Such forms were in complete harmony with the genius of an age, in which a transfer of land was not binding without the delivery of a clod—in which all things tended to express themselves in mute symbols, rather than by the conventional expedient of verbal language. It is the nature of all forms used on important occasions, to outlast, for an indefinite period, the state of manners and society in which they originated. The childlike character of the religious sentiment in a rude people, who know terror but not awe, and are often on the most intimate terms of familiarity with the objects of their adoration, makes it easily conceivable, that the ceremonies used on admission into the Order were established without any irreverent feeling, in the purely symbolical acceptance which some of the witnesses affirmed. The time, however, had past, when such an explanation would be understood or listened to. ‘What arrayed the whole people against them—what left them not a single defender among so many noble families to which they were related—was this monstrous accusation of denying and spitting on the cross. This was precisely the accusation which was admitted by the greatest number of the accused. The simple statement of the fact turned every one against them; every body signed himself, and refused to hear another word. Thus the Order, which had represented in the most eminent degree the symbolical genius of the middle age, died of a symbol misunderstood.’—(Vol. iii. p. 206.)

From this time the history of France is not, except in a far more indirect manner, the history of Europe and of civilization. The subordination of the Church to the state once fully established, the next period was mainly characterized by the struggles between the king and the barons, and final victory of the crown. On this subject France cannot represent English history, where the crown was ultimately the defeated instead of the victorious party; and the incidents of the contest are necessarily national, not European incidents. Here, therefore, having regard also to our necessary limits, our extracts from M. Michelet's work may suitably close; although the succeeding volumes, which come down nearly to Louis XI., are not inferior in merit to those from which we have quoted; and

are even, as we before remarked, superior in the value of their materials—being grounded, in a great measure, upon the public documents of the period, and not, like previous histories, almost exclusively upon the Chronicles.

In what we have said, we have been far more desirous to make the work known, and recommend it to notice, than to criticise it. The latter could only become a needful service after the former had been accomplished. The faults, whether of matter or manner, of which M. Michelet can be accused, are not such as require being pointed out to English readers. There is much more danger lest they should judge too strictly the speculations of such a man; and turn impatiently from the germs of truth which often lurk even in the errors of a man of genius. This is, indeed, the more to be apprehended, as M. Michelet, apparently, has by no means the fear of an unsympathizing audience before his eyes. Where we require thoughts, he often gives us only allusions to thoughts. We continually come upon sentences, and even single expressions, which take for granted a whole train of previous speculation—often perfectly just, and perhaps familiar to French readers; but which in England would certainly have required to be set forth in terms, and cleared up by explanations.

His style cannot be fairly judged from the specimens we have exhibited. Our extracts were selected as specimens of his ideas, not of his literary merits; and none have been taken from the narrative part, which is, of course, the principal part of the work, and the most decisive test of powers of composition in a writer of history. We should say, however, of the style generally, that it is sparkling rather than flowing; full of expressiveness, but too continuously epigrammatic to carry the reader easily along with it; and pushing that ordinary artifice of modern French composition, the personification of abstractions, to an almost startling extent. It is not, however, though it is very likely to be taken for, an affected style; for affectation cannot be justly imputed, where the words are chosen, as is evidently the case here, for no purpose but to express ideas; and where, consequently, the mode of expression, however peculiar, grows from, and corresponds to, the peculiarities of the mode of thought.

ART. II.—*Narrative of a Voyage round the World, performed in Her Majesty's ship Sulphur, during the years 1836–1842.*
By CAPTAIN SIR EDWARD BELCHER. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1843.

IT is now about three centuries since Magelhaens first discovered, and passed through, that intricate but navigable strait that connects the Atlantic with the Pacific, and which bears and has immortalized his name; whose ship (after his death at the Ladrone Islands) continued, under his survivor, to complete the first voyage ever made round the world. It was some half a century after this event, that our countryman Francis Drake, having, on one of his adventurous voyages, obtained a sight of the great South Sea from the summit of a hill on the Isthmus of Darien, then and there made a vow, that by God's good pleasure he would one day sail upon that great ocean—a vow which he very soon afterwards accomplished; and thus became, accordingly, not only the first Englishman that navigated the Pacific, but, as stated in the historical account of the voyage by his kinsman, 'the first English seaman who turned up a furrow 'round the world.'

The successful issue of this daring enterprise, worthy such an extraordinary man, was speedily followed by other Englishmen, with the like success but less hazard—Cavendish, Anson, Wallis, Byron, and Cook; to all of whom, and to many subsequent circumnavigators, were laid open new lands, new people, and new objects, in every variety of created nature; most of which, in the course of time, and by succeeding voyagers, have been investigated with such ardent attention, and described with such accuracy, as to have left but little of novelty to be culled by the moderns. Nature, however, in the various regions and climates of the globe, is found under so many different aspects, and assumes so many varieties—her stores are so inexhaustible—that the inquisitive and industrious traveller will always be gratified by some new and undescribed discovery. Thus the voyage of Captain (now Sir Edward) Belcher, even had nothing further been done, has supplied to the several departments of Natural History, as we understand, a more splendid and extensive collection of objects, as well in the animate as the inanimate part of the creation, than any single individual voyager, that we know of, has had the good fortune to bring home; a selection from which, as we are informed, is, by order of the Treasury, now under publication, entirely distinct from the prints (very indifferent ones) in the work we are about to notice.

Strictly speaking, the title of his book is incorrect. 'A Voyage 'round the World' necessarily implies, when made from Europe, that the ship must have passed round the Cape of Good Hope, and also round Cape Horn, or through the Strait of Magelhaens, out and home; whereas Captain Belcher never approached the latter, either on the Atlantic or the Pacific side. He was appointed at home to supersede Captain Beechey, who was obliged, from ill health, to give up the command of the *Sulphur*, employed on a survey of the western coast of America and the numerous islands of the Pacific. He set out in the mail-packet for the West Indies, thence to Chagres, crossed the isthmus of Darien, and joined the ship at Panama.

We are by no means satisfied with his 'Narrative.' It is fair, however, to observe, that the duties of a naval surveyor are supposed to occupy so much of the officer's time in that service alone, and are mostly of such a nature that the details are not calculated to give scope for a narrative likely to afford pleasure, or indeed information, to the general reader: the constant observations he is expected to make, the calculations necessary to arrive at their results, can be interesting only to a certain and small portion of the community. On these considerations, therefore, we did not look for any attempt at fine writing, polished periods, or learned disquisitions on abstract questions from Captain Belcher; but we did expect some more information than what his two portly volumes contain—something regarding the peculiar habits and manners of the various classes of human beings with whom he came in contact. We did expect to find a brief summary of facts and occurrences, of a general nature, arranged under a plain and connected narrative; some vivid descriptions of tropical scenery—of volcanic mountains in a state of activity—and of the numerous groups of coral formations spread over the surface of the Pacific. These and other grand features of nature, we must confess, are very sparingly given, and in so loose and unconnected a manner, as to render the title of *Narrative* scarcely admissible. Yet, as we shall see, these deficiencies do not arise from any scarcity of subjects, or from want of opportunities.

The wide expanse of ocean over which Sir Edward Belcher navigated, the numerous groups of islands through which he passed, and all the ports on the coast of the two Americas, from King William's Sound on the north, to Callao on the south—visiting many of them twice or thrice; and finally, after leaving the Society Islands, calling at the Friendly Islands, the Navigators', the Fijees, New Hebrides, New Ireland, New Guinea, through Dampier's Strait to the Moluccas, round Borneo, and

to Singapore—all these must have afforded new and interesting matter. At the last of these places, orders awaited the Sulphur to proceed to China, where she arrived in time to assist in the operations on the Canton river, and before that city; and from Canton, Captain Belcher proceeded to England by the Cape of Good Hope.

To give any connected account in our pages of what is said of the multitude of places noticed in the voyage, would be an idle and useless attempt. We shall therefore confine the observations we may have to offer, for the most part, to certain of those islands in the Pacific, where the first quiet and progressive revolution in the minds and habits, in the moral and religious feelings of the people, has unfortunately been disturbed by a second revolution of a hostile and revolting nature, the issue of which is not easily to be foreseen.

We may commence with the Sandwich Islands. While Captain Belcher was at Oahu, (Owyhee of our old voyagers,) the principal island, a French frigate, *La Venus*, of sixty guns, commanded by Captain (since Admiral) Dupetit Thouars, made her appearance, being on a voyage partially scientific. 'Our meeting,' says Belcher, 'was very cordial. At a *déjeûné* given on board the *Venus* to the consuls, (English and American,) the flags of the two nations combined were hoisted at the fore, and a salute of eighteen guns fired.' Captain Belcher had been before at Oahu, when a Lieutenant, with Captain Beechey, in the year 1826, and he thought on a first glance that the place had retrograded. 'The appearance of the natives was miserable and dirty; their features apparently coarser, and that brightness of eye and independence of carriage, which freedom alone can exhibit, were decidedly wanting.' The habit of frequent bathing, which constituted half their original (meaning former) existence, is entirely exploded, and not one good trait or feature, by which former navigators have described them, can be traced.' He says, moreover, that 'the native population has decreased, while that of foreign residents has increased; that in 1827, with the exception of the consul's family and missionary ladies, not a foreign female could be found; whereas now, at a ball, not fewer than twenty couple stood up;' and, as evidence of what we consider *increasing* prosperity, he tells us, the houses of the foreign residents are considerably improved; that shops were more numerous and well supplied, and several of them kept by Chinese; that the chiefs and upper classes are better clothed, and appear as if they were accustomed to dress properly; and, among other improvements, there is a school for children of mixed parents, supported by voluntary contributions

from white residents. There is also a college, of which a Mr Andrews is principal; and the proficiency of the scholars in engraving, chiefly charts, is pronounced to be creditable.

This does not exactly accord with the 'miserable and dirty appearance of the natives.' Among other matters of increasing refinement and luxury, if not of improvement, he describes a splendid funeral of a certain Princess Kinau, at which were about four hundred troops well dressed in white uniforms, whose evolutions were admirable; twenty officers, in scarlet, composed the King's body-guard. 'The concourse of well-dressed females in black silk mourning astonished me; I am quite satisfied they equalled the number of troops. Vast numbers lined the road. Many shed tears, and some really *wailed* in earnest.' The finery, the dresses of the troops and of the ladies, and the decorum of the ceremony in the church, hardly bear out the captain's notions of 'retrogradation;' much less does the orphan school, which is under the direction of Mr and Mrs Johnson, who are said to be devoted to their charge; the former having resigned his post as missionary, that Board, he says, having decided it did not come within their scheme or *authority*—'this word being the key-stone of missionary zeal.'

What he means by this we pretend not to know. What the plan of the American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands may be, he gives us no further information; but we know that in the establishments of schools, by the English missionaries, in the Society, the Friendly, and the Navigators' Islands—they not only pay great personal attention to education, but are constant in the superintendence of the native teachers. In the school in question there are sixty pupils of each sex, taught separately—the boys in the morning, the girls in the afternoon; they are all instructed in the language of the two countries, and in sound moral habits and religious duties; and we are told that many of them exhibit great talent and cleverness. The females are taught the English language and needlework, and instructed in domestic concerns and other useful occupations.

Evidently Captain Belcher is no friend to the missionaries; the state of slavery they create is such, and their exaction of labour from the people so great and constant, that they have scarcely time left for respiration or recreation. In fact, he ascribes to their tyranny the great diminution he finds in the population; nay more, in the diminution of ships that frequent the islands. We do not believe either the one or the other to be the case. The number of ships, as we know from better authority, have been and are very much increasing; and the total cessation of human sacrifices, and the slaughter of multitudes of infants,

more especially females, is certainly not calculated to diminish the population. But drunkenness is a common vice, which they most assuredly were not taught by the missionaries; though their cutaneous disorders may be occasioned from the disuse of constant sea-bathing, which they formerly indulged in, and when, he tells us, they were 'apparently free, happy, and cheerful; but a miserable contrast remains—they are now 'chap-fallen and miserable.' He admits that the female part of society, generally speaking, may be considered gentle and amiable in their demeanour and disposition; tractable and quick in receiving instruction. 'In almost every case where a 'foreigner has married a native woman, her conduct has been 'peculiarly correct, and their children promise to be ornaments 'to the society of Oahu.' On the whole, then, we are of opinion that though the American missionaries, and we believe that few if any other are to be found at the Sandwich Islands, may not have gone to work in the best possible manner; that they may have exacted too much, and assumed an authority over the people, not excepting the King himself, and perhaps may not have taken the most advisable means of inculcating the principles of the Christian religion—yet their exertions have no doubt tended to the softening of the manners, improving the morals, enlightening the minds, and, on the whole, bettering the general condition of the islanders. This we know to be the case from other quarters.

An event has recently occurred, and appears in a printed account in the English and *Hawaian* (Oahuian) languages, of a demand made by Lord George Paulet, commanding H.M.S. *Carysfort*, for the provisional cession of the Sandwich Islands to Great Britain, in consequence of some attachment placed on the property of Mr Consul Charlton, and other grievances and complaints on the part of British subjects against the government of these islands; and that this proceeding was followed by a threat of an immediate attack from the ship upon the town of Oahu, at four o'clock the following day, if certain demands, made by Lord George to the King, were not complied with. The threat, we think, was imprudent, and not called for on such an occasion. With the demand thus peremptorily made, the King could only give his compliance; but, in doing so, he thinks it right to declare, that 'as it has never been our intention to insult her 'Majesty the Queen, or injure any of her estimable subjects, we 'must do this under protest, and shall embrace the earliest opportunity of representing our case more fully to her Britannic 'Majesty's government, through our ministers, trusting in the 'magnanimity of the sovereign of a great nation, which we

‘have been taught to respect and love; and we shall then be justified.’

His Majesty, therefore, cedes to Lord George Paulet, for the Queen of Great Britain, the provisional government of the Sandwich Islands; with the reservation of the cession being subject to any arrangement made by his representatives in England. As may readily be supposed, Lord Aberdeen unhesitatingly declared to those representatives, that any such occupation was an act entirely unauthorized by her Majesty’s government; and that, on the contrary, her Majesty had determined to recognize the independence of the Sandwich Islands, under their present chief. That, however, it must be distinctly understood, that the British government equally intends to engage, and if necessary to compel, the Chief of the Sandwich Islands to redress whatever acts of injustice may have been committed against British subjects, either arbitrarily, or under the false colour of lawful proceedings. That, while affording due and efficient protection to aggrieved British subjects, the consuls and naval officers employed in the Pacific were enjoined to treat the native rulers with forbearance and courtesy, and to avoid interfering harshly, or unnecessarily, with the laws and customs of the native governments.

Lord Aberdeen has further declared it to have been the desire of the British government, that the intercourse of its public servants with the native authorities of the Sandwich Islands should rather tend to strengthen those authorities, and give them a sense of their own independence, than to make them feel their dependence upon foreign powers, by the exercise of unnecessary interference;—that it has not been its purpose to seek to establish a permanent influence in those islands, at the expense of that enjoyed by other powers: it desires only that other powers should not exercise there a greater influence than that possessed by Great Britain.

This sound doctrine, moral as well as political, will, we may hope, afford a useful lesson to M. Guizot, in applying it to the proceedings of his countrymen at the Marquesas and the Society Islands; to which we shall presently have occasion to advert. It may also serve to abate the furious attacks of our transatlantic brethren on this occasion, who, in no measured terms of abuse, accuse the British government of an all-grasping disposition to plant colonies in every part of the world. If priority of discovery authorized possession, which alone it does not; but if cession of territory made by legitimate authority sanctions possession, which it does, then the Sandwich Islands might long ago have been annexed to the British crown—a formal

cession of them having been made to the King of Great Britain in consideration of services rendered by Captain Vancouver, before whom the grateful Chief, in presence of the Erries and the assembled multitude, made a solemn declaration to that effect; and ever since that period the natives have considered themselves under the immediate protection of Great Britain.

But, supposing the charge of all-grasping to be true, what prevented us from establishing colonies in every part of the Pacific, and on the northern and western coasts of America? Instead of which, what did we do? We gave up Nootka Sound and its islands, which were ceded to us by Spain; we left the Falklands a derelict in the ocean, also ceded to us by that power; and, though conscious of the value of those islands for their many fine harbours, their favourable position, and rich surrounding fishing-ground, we occupied them only a very few years. New Zealand has been taken possession of by us, 'tis true, but only to prevent general confusion and destruction of human life, in consequence of multitudes of our countrymen, some by force and some by fraud, getting possession of large tracts of land from the natives. It has thus, in reality, been forced upon us, and we believe most reluctantly, and contrary to the wish of the government. The finest, and one of the largest islands in China, Chusan, its position facing the centre of the extensive eastern coast of that great Empire, and contiguous to its most wealthy commercial cities, though ours in right of conquest, was given up by us; and we were content to receive in lieu of it the barren rock of Hong-Kong, rejecting every other fertile island in the same estuary, of which it is the most worthless; and we limited our demands of permission to trade at four ports only on the eastern coast.

But the Americans are the last people in the world to accuse us of a grasping disposition—to seize upon new acquisitions of territory. That they should feel sore at being superseded in the protection of the Sandwich Islands, which they had in fact usurped, is natural enough; that they should be desirous of continuing that influence which they have acquired over the King and authorities of the Sandwich Islands, is not to be wondered at. These islands are, of all others in the Pacific, the most advantageously placed as a commercial and naval station, as regards the intercourse with the west coast of North America, the Philippine Islands, Japan, and China. As a station for the whale fishery, they are of more importance to America than to any other nation. The number of their whaling ships employed in the Pacific is more than double that of all the other maritime nations, whether engaged in the sperma-

ceti fishing, extending through all parts of the Pacific as far as the coast of Japan, or in that for the black whale in all the northern parts of this ocean, from the Aleutian Islands to Behring's Strait; and for both these fisheries the Sandwich Islands afford most convenient ports of refuge and refitment.

The British whale fishery, of both kinds, has been, for several years past, much on the decline; and these islands supply so few articles, and those only to a small extent for commercial purposes, that they were not likely to create in the British government any desire to possess them; and an order has been given for their restoration. The Americans may therefore be satisfied, and continue to carry on the sandal-wood trade, which was the principal article for the China market, but now nearly exhausted. Sugar plantations are, undoubtedly, on the increase; rice, maize, and millets, plantains, bananas, yams, and the sweet potato, are abundantly produced. The silkworm has recently been introduced; but some of these articles are in such small quantities, as not to hold out any sanguine hopes of a lucrative or extensive commerce. It is somewhat whimsical, and augurs no great share of moderation or modesty, that a nation, brought into existence only about half a century ago, and which, by its *grasping* propensities, has swallowed up nearly the half of a vast continent, and will not be satisfied until she has got the whole, so that its two shores may be washed by the Atlantic on one side, and the Pacific on the other;—that such a nation should talk of the grasping propensity of others!

After a long coasting tour, Captain Belcher made for the Marquesas Islands, and anchored in Anna-Maria Bay, in the Island of Rukahiva, not a little surprised at the entire want of curiosity on the part of the inhabitants. Neither king, nor chief, nor people came near him. They were busily employed, it seems, in preparing to make war on one of the other islands. He soon, however, got sight of the chief, and at once describes him as imbued with ingratitude and every bad feeling; and that revenge,—sulky, moody revenge alone—actuated him in undertaking the present war, in the prosecution of which the captain's endeavours to stop him proved ineffectual. Captain Belcher evidently knows little or nothing of the people of these islands. Indeed, how should he? In one place he describes them, from personal observation, as 'well-disposed and easily managed,' which is a character very different from that given to them by most voyagers. In another place, indeed, he calls them 'half, if not 'entire, cannibals.' In this, however, he is not singular. Krusenstern, a sober sensible Russian, has proclaimed them, from accounts given him by an Englishman and a Frenchman resi-

dents on the island, (suspicious enough,) as the most determined cannibals; as having a peculiar relish for human flesh; as making war to gratify that taste; and that women and children, in times of famine, are greedily devoured. Our early navigator, Cook, pronounced them to be, without exception, the finest race of men in the whole Pacific. 'For fine shape and features,' he says, 'they perhaps surpass all other nations. The men are, in general, from five feet ten inches to six feet. The women, who are but little punctured, youths and young children, who are not at all, are as fair as some Europeans.' By subsequent visitors, their women have been described as very beautiful; their forms, while young, perfect models for the painter or statuary.

Mendoza, who first discovered the island of Madalena, and gave to it the name of Marquesas de la Mendoza, out of respect for his friend the Marquis de Cañetó, describes the natives as fine people, with good teeth, eyes, and countenance, their manners gentle; but he left them under a different feeling on account of their ferocious character. He was, in fact, compelled to make an attack upon them, and killed a number of the poor people, who had not been guilty of any offence, though some of them had stolen a piece of iron. His impression, however, was favourable. 'There came, among others,' says the historian, 'two lads paddling their canoe, whose eyes were fixed on the ship: they had beautiful faces, and the most promising animation of countenance; and were in all things so becoming, that Quiroz affirmed nothing in his life caused him so much regret as the leaving such fine creatures to be lost in that country.' And as to the men, about forty of whom had ventured on board, it is recorded that the Spaniards, when near them, appeared of mean stature. One among them was a full head taller than the tallest Spaniard in the squadron.

When Captain Wilson, in the *Duff*, carried out a cargo of missionaries, it is stated that seven young women came swimming off to the ship, sporting in the water like so many Naiads, and wishing to be taken on board, calling out piteously *Wahéiné— we are women*. As they were naked, the missionaries at first objected; but in a short time relented, and they were taken on board, having only a *maro*, or belt of green leaves, about the loins. It happened there were some goats on board, who instantly relieved them of their vegetable dress, when the simple creatures darted down below, and were partially covered by the missionaries' ladies. But it is slyly insinuated in the narrative, that the temptation was such 'as no one without great restraints from God's grace could have resisted.' The missionaries,

however, did not like the people, and one of them could not be prevailed on to remain with them.

Such are the people whom the French have determined to fraternize, or to govern. It has been a matter of conjecture what could have been the real object of the French to decide, so rapidly and at once—without discussion, conference, treaty, or stipulation of any kind—to take forcible possession of these islands. All that we know is, that D'Urville admitted to our officers that one main object of his scientific voyage was to find a suitable spot for the establishment of a colony. 'You must be aware,' said he, 'how vexatious and humiliating it must be to our officers in their voyages, to find every island almost in the world, and the whole of the vast continent of Australia, in the possession of England; so that they are frequently under the necessity of refitting and refreshing, and even of watering their ships, at the pleasure and by the permission of the English, when coming under a British flag.' It was therefore, no doubt, on his recommendation that the Pacific was fixed upon as the theatre for their future proceedings. Indeed, M. Dupetit Thouars, captain of the *Venus*, when cruising in the year 1838 in the Pacific, avowed to our officers that he was looking out for some suitable island on which to hoist the French flag, for the purpose, he added, of forming thereon a penal settlement.

On his return to Paris, Dupetit Thours was raised to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and reappeared in the Pacific with his flag in the *La Reine Blanche*, on a secret expedition as was given out; which, however, was soon understood to be an order for the seizure of the Marquesas Islands, ostensibly at least for the above purpose. He took possession of St Domingo and Ohitahiva, built a fort on each, and garrisoned them with four hundred troops. He now demands from his government thrice that number of troops, and four ships of war, for the maintenance of this conquest. He had, in fact, a very early specimen of what they were to expect. One of their naval captains, of the name of Halley, was appointed governor. As he and another officer, with a party of men, were proceeding along a defile, they were fired upon by some natives concealed behind the rocks. Both officers were killed, and several of the men wounded. The captain was highly spoken of as a kind-hearted man, and apparently had given great satisfaction to the islanders.

It is by no means improbable that the acquisition of this group of islands may prove to the French another Algeria on a smaller scale—an *Algerietta*. They have in fact, already it seems, given a new and most discriminating name to a group,

which is henceforth to be called the 'Oceanic Islands,' as if there were no islands in other oceans. Does the old name of Pacific not square exactly with their views of what may happen, or be intended? We ask the question, as there are strong indications, which we shall presently advert to, that their 'oceanic' conquests are not likely to stop with the Marquesas. They have, indeed, already assumed the Protectorate of the Society Islands at Tahiti, for which the Marquesas may previously have been taken possession of as a sort of stepping-stone—not being more than some four hundred miles distant from the latter islands. From what transpired in the British Parliament with regard to the proceedings of the French at Tahiti, we are by no means satisfied with the explanation there given; on the contrary, it appears to us that they are at present actually in possession of Tahiti, and that the authority of Queen Pomare is defunct.

Lord Lansdowne in putting a question, in the House of Lords, regarding the alleged occupation of, or the protection to be given by the King of the French to, the island of Tahiti, observed, 'that for a number of years past, a very great improvement in the civilization and religious instruction of the inhabitants of Tahiti, and its other islands, amounting, he believed, to a population of 150,000 souls, had taken place; that this had been occasioned by persons who, from beneficent and religious motives, had taken up their residence there, and by their influence had induced the inhabitants entirely to change the habits of life—to introduce education and to found schools, which were now numerous. He wished, therefore, to know, if the government had received such explanations and assurances that English settlers in Tahiti would obtain from the French authorities that degree of protection which was justly their due;—that they would not be subject to any unjust treatment, or, above all things, to expulsion from these islands.' Lord Aberdeen, in reply, stated, that 'he was not sufficiently informed of the precise grounds upon which the French government had acted, or of complaints made against the authorities in those islands, which had led to the convention; but he had no apprehension as to the establishment of the French in those seas, nor that our commercial or political interests would be affected by it. He stated, that he had received the most unqualified assurance, that every degree of protection and encouragement would be afforded to the British Missionaries residing in those islands; that, in granting the Protectorship to the French King, it had been stipulated that all the places of worship at present existing would receive protection, and that the fullest liberty would be given to the missionaries to exer-

‘cise their functions:’ and he concluded by saying, that ‘he reposed the fullest confidence, not only in the King of the French himself, but in the Minister who at this moment was the principal adviser of that Monarch.’ Sir Robert Peel, however, stated, that the officer commanding the French squadron in the South Seas, had made a demand of satisfaction from the Sovereign and Chiefs of Tahiti and its dependent islands for an alleged offence against France, and called upon them for a deposit, as a guarantee for future good conduct towards the French, to the amount of 100,000 dollars, (10,000?) ‘The Chiefs at once declared their utter inability to comply with this order; but, instead of it, they consented that Tahiti and the other islands should be placed under the nominal sovereignty of the King of the French—the Queen of the islands reserving to herself the territorial jurisdiction.’ •

Alas, for the poor Queen! There seems to be some strange misconception of the proceedings that have been carried on at Tahiti, either by the King of the French and his Minister, or they have thought it expedient to disguise the facts. We have all due confidence in those high personages on whom Lord Aberdeen relies; but they have, if we are not greatly mistaken, been deceived by their subordinates, as we shall presently show.

In all that Lord Lansdowne has expressed with regard to the Missionaries, we most cordially agree. It is impossible not to admire the resolution and perseverance of those worthy men, who, at the sacrifice of life, health, and comfort of every kind, leave their native country, their homes, and friends, traversing the ocean for many thousand miles, from pure conscientious motives, for the sole purpose of benefiting a multitude of benighted human beings, living a depraved life, without law, without morality, and without religion. Mr Ellis, in his ‘*Poly-nesian Researches*,’ published after a residence of ten years in the islands of the Pacific, has placed their labours in that favourable point of view which cannot fail to win for them the approving regards of all thinking and reasonable men. Their zeal for the propagation of the Christian religion and morality, was found to keep pace with the docility of their pupils and their desire of knowledge. They found the Tahitians a people of strong natural intellect, and encouraged by the king, Pomare I., they were disposed to gratify the desire for information even beyond the original intention, not only by employing their time in establishing schools for the education of both sexes, but by instructing them in the management of property, and in teaching them the comforts it can procure in the articles of clothing, food, and lodging. And let it also be recollected, that

they have completely succeeded in abolishing human sacrifices, and the murder of infants, formerly carried to a most lamentable extent; they have prevailed on the natives to destroy every vestige of those stocks and stones to which those sacrifices were made; and they have succeeded in shaming the lower classes of females, inhabiting the ports, from those indecent practices which were encouraged by their communication with the seamen of the whaling ships that frequent those ports.

Lord Aberdeen expresses his confidence in the King of the French and his Minister, that they will not countenance or give their support to a dishonourable proceeding; but we fear, as we have already hinted, that they may have been imposed upon, and been led to believe that the Queen and Chiefs of Tahiti had *bona fide* solicited the protection of France. They now know, however, from Queen Pomare herself, that all the proceedings in this disgraceful affair had their origin in fraud and treachery—chiefly carried out by the French Consul, who is accused of having, under false pretences, prevailed on certain Chiefs of the island to affix their signatures, in the name of the Queen, to a document, the object of which was to induce the King of the French to take Tahiti under his protection;—the pretence being grounded on a false statement, which accused some native Chiefs, and the *Representatives* of other nations, of bad conduct and crimes. When the Queen was apprised of this, she called a council of her Chiefs, with an assembled multitude of natives and foreigners, and in presence of the British, French, and American consuls, denied all knowledge of it, and so also did the Chiefs themselves who signed the document. They declared that the French Consul brought it to them in the night, and that they put their names to it without knowing what it contained. The governor, Paraita, being one of the persons imposed upon, wrote to the British Consul, Mr Cunningham, declaring that they did not know what were the contents of the letter which the French Consul brought them to sign, and that they affixed their names to it, as it were, in the dark. The translator also affirmed, that it must have been written by some person not a Tahitian; its idiom being foreign, its orthography bad, words misapplied, and the handwriting even foreign.

But the most convincing evidence of the forgery was the declaration of two of the Chiefs who signed the document, Tati and Ulami, to the following effect:—‘That all men may know that we, who have signed our names hereunto, clearly and solemnly make known and declare, as upon oath—That the French Consul did wholly dictate and write the letter, said to be written by the Queen Pomare and her governors, requesting

‘ protection of the King of the French. Through fear we signed it. It was in his own house, and in the night-time, that the document was signed by us. And we signed it also because he said, “ If you will sign your names to this, I will give you one thousand dollars each when the French admiral’s ship returns to Tahiti.”

‘ We also declare clearly, that Pomare had not signed her name when we signed our names. The Queen’s name was signed at Moorea, and it was because she was frightened that she signed it.

‘ This is the truth ; and we also made known those words to the captain of the English ship of war, and to the English Consul, in the presence of many people.

‘ We also fully made known those words to Pomare after the late great meeting ; and what is here written is the truth, to which we have signed our names.

(Signed) ‘ TATI.
‘ ULAMI.’

While this plot was carrying on in the absence of the Queen, no sooner was it made known to her than she addressed a short letter to the Queen of Great Britain, to the President of the United States, and to the King of the French, disavowing all knowledge of such a document. Pomare thus writes to the King of the French:—

‘ Peace be to you. I make a communication to you, and this is its nature—

‘ During my absence from my own country, a few of my people, entirely without my knowledge or authority, wrote a letter to you, soliciting your assistance. I disavow any knowledge of that document.

‘ Health to you.

(Signed) ‘ POMARE.’

This letter, we believe, was brought and delivered into the hands of the King of France by Sir George Simpson. Whether any or what orders have been sent from France, we are not aware ; but the French Consul proceeded to form a provisional government of three persons, putting himself at the head of it as ‘ *Consul Commissaire-du-Roi*,’ assisted by a military governor and a captain of the port. If he has had the sanction or assistance of Admiral Dupetit Thouars, that officer’s name at least has been suppressed, while he has kept himself aloof at Valparaiso, ashamed probably of the whole proceeding ; but we fear he will turn out to be the person who, by his conduct on a

former occasion, has given countenance to that of the Consul. When that intelligent missionary, the Rev. J. Williams, called at Tahiti in March 1839, being then on his last and fatal voyage to the New Hebrides, he thus writes to his friend:—
‘ You will, doubtless, see by the papers the cruel and oppressive conduct of the French. A sixty-gun frigate has been sent here, to chastise the Queen and people of Tahiti for not receiving the Roman Catholic priests; and the captain demanded 2000 dollars to be paid in twenty-four hours, or threatened to carry devastation and death to every island in the Queen’s dominion; and Mr Pritchard, and some merchants here, paid the money, and saved the lives of the people. The French would only hear one side of the question, but demanded four things within the twenty-four hours—2000 dollars, a letter of apology to the French King, a salute of twenty-one guns, and the hoisting of the French flag.’

The Queen, however, is not the only person to whom this self-constituted triumvirate exhibited their insolence. They sent a letter to Captain Sir T. Thompson of the *Talbot*, demanding to know for what purpose he had come to Tahiti. Of course he took no notice of so insolent a demand. The Queen had just arrived, and hoisted the original Tahitian flag, which the *Talbot* saluted. On this, a second letter came from these individuals, protesting against the captain’s right to salute such a flag,—‘ holding him responsible to the King of the French, his government, and nation, and for the consequences of such disrespect, and for a measure so hostile towards France.’ Sir Thomas only laughed at it, and considered it unworthy of notice. Has this Consul and his confederates dared to make use of his King’s name without his authority?

The Queen had also an insolent letter from this man: he even forced himself into her presence, and behaved himself in a rude and disrespectful manner, as stated in a letter from her to the captain of the *Talbot*. ‘ He said to me,’ she says—‘ shaking his head at me, throwing about his arms, and staring fiercely at me—“ order your men to hoist the new flag, and that the new government be respected.” I protested against this conduct, and told him I had nothing more to say to him.’ This poor, persecuted young Queen, wrote to Queen Victoria a second most pathetic appeal, which has been published in all our Newspapers:—‘ Have compassion on me in my present trouble, in my affliction and great helplessness. Do not cast me away; assist me quickly, my friend; I run to you for refuge—to be covered under your great shadow—the

‘ same as afforded to my fathers by your fathers, who are now dead, and whose kingdoms have descended to us.’

In this letter she explains, as we think, what Sir Robert Peel mentioned in his reply about the 100,000 dollars. ‘ Taraipa (governor of Tahiti) said to me, Pomare, write your name under this document, (the French protection ;) if you don’t sign your name, you must pay a fine of 10,000 dollars, 5000 to-morrow and 5000 the following day ; and, should the first payment be delayed beyond two o’clock the first day, hostilities will be commenced, and your country taken from you.’ ‘ On account of this threat,’ says the Queen, ‘ against my will I signed my name—I was compelled to sign it—and because I was afraid ; for the British and American subjects residing in my country (in case of hostilities) would have been indiscriminately massacred—no regard would have been paid to parties.’

We are far from objecting to that confidence which Lord Aberdeen declares his willingness to place in Louis Philippe and his Minister, and we only hope that they will do that justice and exercise that mercy, which have been so grossly outraged, towards the person of this helpless female sovereign by their unfeeling and assuming functionaries, who, we are disposed to believe, have imposed upon both ; and we trust that Louis Philippe will not hesitate, if he has not already done so, to follow the example of the Queen of Great Britain and the President of the United States of America, by a declaration of the independence of the Society and the Sandwich Islands. Let the French keep, and be satisfied with, the Marquesas and their less civilized inhabitants, though apparently obtained by extortion. The result of the late proceedings at Tahiti, supposing them, what we are most unwilling to do, to have been sanctioned by the French Government, must have the obvious tendency of interrupting that amicable intercourse with the natives, which of late years has been free and open to all the maritime nations of the world, and in lieu thereof, to create mutual distrust, jealousies, and disturbances ; for France must not persuade herself that her rule over, or possession of islands hitherto free, and frequented by ships of every nation, will be regarded in the same light, or treated with the same respect and confidence, as is usually given to legitimate authority. To such an extent, indeed, has the presence of foreign ships increased, that two years ago twenty arrived at Huahine, and nearly one hundred at Tahiti in the year. Nor can France imagine, for example, that the ships of war of Great Britain and America—which for years have maintained a friendly intercourse with the islands of the Pacific, mutually giving and receiving benefits—will be disposed to recognize the usurped dominion of the French,

and forego their wonted friendly communications with the native authorities of the islands, freely and without a foreign interference—to say nothing of the evils that must result from throwing whole communities into a state of confusion, unsettling their minds, and disturbing that repose which they have acquired of late years, by the almost miraculous progress made in the arts and comforts of civilized life, in the precepts of Christianity, and the decencies of morality.

But, taking the result to issue in a lower, but not less important point of view—the expected acquisition of wealth, or even political power—neither of these, we conceive, can rationally be entertained. Commercially speaking, these islands can contribute little or nothing to the wealth of their new possessors. The poor islanders have nothing to give in exchange for what France might supply them, except such articles as pigs and fowls, bananas, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit, which nobody will eat if any other kind of bread can be had. In a political point of view, these acquisitions cannot in any degree contribute to the aggrandizement of their strength or honour. Perhaps the mere vanity of having the tri-colored flag flying in the opposite hemisphere, eight or ten thousand miles distant from home, may be considered as ample compensation for loss of character and an enormous expenditure of money, and perhaps of life.

That a strong feeling of indignation should have been created by such conduct, in the numerous and influential societies for the encouragement of Missionaries into foreign parts, might reasonably be expected. The Leeds branch of the London Missionary Society has warmly taken it up, and passed the following resolution :
' That this meeting regards the recent aggression of the French navy, which has been subsequently sanctioned by the French Government, upon the small and defenceless community of Tahiti, as a gross infraction of the law of nations, and of the common rights of humanity, which is to the last degree disgraceful to the name of a people, boasting to be free and gallant themselves, and the friends of liberty and the human race ;
' and a deed of unprovoked and pitiful outrage, which ought to awaken the warmest indignation of the whole civilized world ;
' and that this meeting thus publicly pledges itself to do all in its power to induce our Government to exert its legitimate influence with the Government of France, to restore to the Queen of Tahiti her just independence, and to all classes of her subjects their civil rights and religious freedom.'

Some of the French Deputies in the Chamber were opposed to these new acquisitions, not on account of the injustice committed, but on account of the large estimate proposed for their

maintenance. They spoke of the dangers and difficulties of passing Cape Horn; but M. Guizot observed that the Isthmus of Panama would, ere long, open a passage for the mercantile shipping of France, and afford a line of communication for the produce of the new colonies, and the despatches for the governor and forces: he talked of the English establishment at the Bay of Honduras, having been made for the purpose of commanding this passage between the two oceans! We should have given M. Guizot the credit of being a better geographer, and that he knew very well the cutters of logwood could derive no benefit from a cut made across the Isthmus of Darien. Little more at the time was said on this head; but that little, considered in conjunction with some circumstances that have since occurred, induce us to think, that the possession of certain islands in the Pacific, is only auxiliary to a pre-existing intention of endeavouring to establish a commercial intercourse with China through the Pacific; and that the measure of sending a squadron of ships of war, and an embassy to the emperor of that great nation, is connected with what has taken place, and apparently is about to take place, in that part of the world.

Our inference is strengthened by a communication, made at a meeting of the Academy of Sciences in Paris by M. Arago, stating that a contract had been entered into, by Messrs Baring and Company, with the Republic of Granada, but in whose behalf is not stated, in virtue of which, however, the said Republic is to cede to the contractors the line required for the construction of a canal, with 80,000 acres of land on the two banks, and 400,000 acres more in the interior. It is added, that the work, upon which from 4000 to 5000 men are to be engaged, is calculated to take five years for its completion. To whom the Isthmus of Darien may belong, in the present unsettled state of contending parties on the western side of America, we pretend not to say. Does the northern part of the continent, or the southern part, or both, lay claim to it? Has the Mosquito shore, on which our logwood cutters are, and which extends down to it, and the district of Columbia, which springs out of it—have they any thing to say to it? As to the contract with Messrs Baring, we are rather sceptical; they are too cautious to engage in so doubtful an undertaking.

The project of cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Darien, or making a railroad across it, has frequently been mooted; but we are not aware that any intelligible plan for either has been brought forward, or any actual survey made. Mr Lloyd, when acting as secretary to General Bolivar, gives a line for a canal, and two lines for railroads. According to his map, the

length of the canal, by the line of the Chagres to Cruces, and thence to Panama, winds through the valley, extending about sixty miles—that of the railroad, from the same to the same, about forty miles; but nothing definite is given as to the height of the intervening land. The direct distance from Porto Bello, or Chagres, to Panama, is not more than twenty-eight or thirty miles; but by the road through Gongora and Cruces, the distance is not less than fifty miles. Sir E. Belcher, though a professed surveyor, is still more indefinite than Mr Lloyd: he talks of measuring the meridian distance between Chagres and Panama by means of rockets, explosion-bags, and chronometers; but the rockets burst, and nothing is concluded by the bags and the chronometers—no result whatever, not even the highest point of the intermediate land is noticed. We have heard that a Frenchman had discovered a line, in which the highest elevation above the level of the sea would not exceed twelve feet, the report of which may have led to that supposition of a contract for the project spoken of by M. Arago.

The practicability of carrying a canal across the Isthmus need not be questioned; the rivers, and the numerous streams by which they are fed, will at all times afford plenty of water to supply the waste occasioned by the locks—for locks there must be, and not a few. The supposed different levels of the two seas, which have been very much misrepresented, will not create an obstacle: a difference—and a very considerable one—there must be, occasioned by various disturbances in the tides, chiefly by the different strength and direction of the wind in the Caribbean gulf on one side, and the open bay of Panama on the other, by which the full tide is occasionally accelerated or retarded. In ordinary cases, according to Mr Lloyd, the Pacific, at high water, is about thirteen feet higher than the Atlantic; and, at low water, the Atlantic is highest by about six feet. There must be, therefore, a period, generally once in twelve hours, when these levels are equal. Baron Humboldt, forty years ago, said—‘The difference of level between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean does not probably exceed nine feet; and that at different hours in the day, sometimes one sea, sometimes the other, is the more elevated;’ but, as we have said, this difference cannot much interfere with the construction of a canal.

That such a communication across the Isthmus of Panama would be of infinite use for all commercial purposes connected with the Pacific islands, and the western coasts of the two Americas, from Behring's Strait to Cape Horn, the West Indies, or the east coast of North America, cannot admit of a doubt. But with regard to time being gained by this route from Europe to China,

over that by the Cape of Good Hope, or any advantage for commercial intercourse, which the French seem to contemplate, we are decidedly of opinion there will be none; and that the old route will continue to be considered preferable, to us in England at least, as it will also be found to the French. We arrive at this conclusion from a comparison of the distances of the two routes, and of the probable times required to make the voyages by sailing vessels, and by steamers.

	Sea Miles.	Sailing.	Steaming.
From Portsmouth to Chagres, .	4836	43 days.	27 days.
.. Chagres to Sandwich Islands,	4540	40 ...	25 ...
... Sandwich Islands to Hong-Kong,	5160	46 ...	29 ...

Nautical miles, . . . 14,526 129 days. 81 days.

Now, the measured distance by the usual route round the Cape of Good Hope is, as nearly as can be estimated, the same, or at most 200 miles less; and this, at the average rate of five miles an hour, will be performed in 121 days, and has frequently been done in less time.

Captain Belcher, having visited the lake Managua, has revived the obsolete notion of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific by 'a line for a canal, which, by *entire lake navigation*, might be connected with the interior of the states of San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and extended to the Atlantic.' He sailed up the river Estero Real in his assistant's cutter Starling, and boats, thirty miles, which he understood was still navigable thirty miles higher up; and if so, he considers it must *nearly* communicate with the lake of Managua, and that at least it is fed, or has its origin, near it. That the Estero is fed by the lake cannot be the case, as two rivers flowing out of the same lake in contrary directions is physically impossible, which would be the case here: there is no instance that we know of, where two great rivers flow out of a lake at opposite extremities, and in contrary directions; for if originally the levels were precisely the same, (which is not likely,) the attrition of the one would get the better of the other, and one stream would carry off the water. But in the present instance, the western shore of the Managua is more than a hundred feet above the level of the sea; and the Estero, therefore, even if connected with the lake, could not be navigable sixty miles. Then the river San Juan, with its rapids and cataracts, falls into the Atlantic out of the lake Nicaragua, whose level is very little lower than that of Managua, and thus cutting off every hope of a river and lake navigation; the distance, besides, from the mouth of the Estero to the mouth of the San Juan in a line, through the lakes, is more than

300 miles. The subject has often been discussed, and, we had thought, altogether exploded.

As we were writing this article, an anonymous pamphlet—marked in print *Private and Confidential*—was sent to us, but from what quarter we know not, nor for what purpose. It states that—‘By a decree, promulgated at Bogota the 30th May 1838, a privilege was granted by the Congress of the republic of New Granada, for opening a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, across the Isthmus of Panama. That the rights under this decree belong solely and exclusively to the house of Augustin Salomon and Co. of Panama, and to the Granadian Company; and they have the right over all such lands as shall be found necessary for the formation of a canal. That it is to be completed in eight years, but may be extended, if it be proved that the work has already commenced, which is actually the case; Messrs Salomon and Co. having already caused a survey to be made of the whole line from Chagres to Panama.’ Of the advantages to be gained, they say—‘Every vessel bound for China, Australia, New Zealand, the Polynesian Islands, and the west coasts of North and South America, would shorten the passage by nearly two months, saving a distance of several thousand miles, besides avoiding the dangers of the voyage round both the southern continents.’ We must exclude China, to which, as we have shown, neither time nor distance will be saved.

A Frenchman of the name of Morel, said to be an able practical engineer, has surveyed the line, the result of which is—
1. That the width of the isthmus of Panama, in a direct line, does not exceed thirty-three miles. 2. That the chain of mountains terminates at this point, and forms a valley crossed by numerous streams. 3. That besides these, three rivers can be made available, the Chagres and Trinidad, which flow into the Atlantic, and the Farfan, in the immediate vicinity of Panama. 4. That the Chagres has deep water at its junction with the Trinidad. 5. and 6. That the highest point in the line of the canal is thirty-three feet, and the length of the line not more than twenty-five miles.* And it is added that four thousand workmen and labourers, and upwards, have already been enrolled.

This is, no doubt, the scheme that M. Arago announced in the French Chambers, and for which he said Messrs Baring

* Rivers Chagres and Trinidad navigable eighteen miles; Farfan, seven miles, making twenty-five miles; artificial canal, twenty-five miles. Total length, fifty miles.

were the contractors, jointly perhaps with Messrs Salomon and Co., who estimate the cost at 3,475,000 dollars, and the profit at 764,618 dollars; being at the rate of about twenty-two per cent. This return, however, is admitted to be conjectural—the cost certain. The concluding paragraph looks like a decoy for the English. ‘There is no country which is not, either directly or indirectly, interested in this enterprise. But it is in England chiefly where all the advantages its execution will create can be more generally appreciated, to say nothing of connecting the English name with so noble an undertaking. Her immense interests in India, her relations with China, the Australian colonies, New Zealand, the Polynesian Islands, and the great number of her ships engaged in the whale fishery in the South Seas, are sufficiently strong motives to call her attention to it, and to insure her leading men, both in the political and commercial world, to give all the weight of their influence and credit to a scheme, which, if once carried into execution, would procure to Great Britain, and her numerous colonies and possessions, incalculable benefits.’

But the French, it would seem, from a paragraph in the *Debats*, are not satisfied with either Lloyd’s Report or that of Morel; and have actually, at this time, a surveyor of their own on the ground. Among the projectors something is likely to be done, and all of them, if we are not greatly mistaken, will be disappointed.

We are very far from blaming the French in making every exertion, with the view of extending their influence and commerce, over every portion of the globe, where a fair and legitimate opening presents itself; but we cannot persuade ourselves that the proceedings of their agents at Tahiti have been conducted with dignity, humanity, or even with justice. Nay, France is a great nation, and all who wish well to her sovereignty, must be desirous it should not descend below the level of a great people. They have a right to make themselves known in all the accessible parts of the world; and with this feeling we were glad to find they were about to accomplish this object in China, by the proper and dignified mode of sending an authorized representative of their sovereign to the ruler of that vast Empire. We cordially wish to the individual charged with that important office every success; he will find it, however, beset with difficulty, which will require great discretion, as well as firmness of purpose, to overcome. He will, no doubt, have called to his recollection what occurred in the three several embassies sent to the Court of Peking in our own time, and be prepared accordingly for what may happen to him.

The first was that of Lord Macartney, who succeeded in supporting the honour and character of the nation, by his dignified conduct, skill, and management.—‘Don’t,’ he said, ‘propose to me your *koo-too*: I will pay to your Emperor the same obeisance as to my own sovereign, but nothing more; but if that will not suit you, let your *Ta-whang-tee* set me the example, and whatever ceremony he may choose to perform before the portrait of my sovereign, I will follow it on my presentation to him.’ Not liking this, his presentation to Old Kien-long was just the same as that to George III. Lord Amherst, on landing, was met by a court mandarin, on whom he was pleased to confer the title of *Duke Ho*, who presented to his lordship a screen of yellow silk, before which he was required to practise the *koo-too*, which of course his lordship declined; but Duke Ho had his revenge, by giving him and his suite a night’s drive, in their little springless carts, over a twelve-mile granite road of dis-joined slabs, to the gate of Peking; which being shut, the drive was continued round the outside of the walls throughout the night, and beyond them some seven or eight miles, to a palace of the emperor; where, at daylight, the ambassador was summoned to make his immediate appearance before the Emperor, harassed as he was, sick, and in his travelling dress. This he very properly resented, and the same day made preparations to set off homewards, without bidding adieu to the great *Whang-tee*. The Dutch mission, previous to this, thinking to profit by compliance, refused nothing, and obtained nothing in return but a lodging, as they state, among horses in a stable. But now that China has been opened to us, we find that the President of the United States has also determined on a mission to China. The appearance of the two Ambassadors at Peking, is an occurrence likely somewhat to puzzle the Chinese. M. Lagrinée, representing a King, will probably be the favourite; the free and independent citizen of the United States, representing the President and Congress, will be apt to put the Chinese in mind of the Stadtholder and States-general, which they did not, or would not, comprehend. The misfortune of Mr Cushing having lost his ship by fire at Gibraltar, and the whole of his equipment, has not prevented him from proceeding in the packet to China—a sacrifice which is highly creditable to his energy in the fulfilment of a public duty.

Leaving the French and the Americans to their respective pursuits with regard to China, pass we on to our author, of whose proceedings, however, we have but little more to notice. Of the intrigues of the French at Tahiti, and their forcible possession of the Marquesas, Captain Belcher appears to know no-

thing, or he at least says nothing. His visit to Tahiti, however, has enabled him to record an amiable trait in the character of the unfortunate Queen Pomare, which we are unwilling to pass over without notice—more unfortunate perhaps in her domestic distress, than even in the injustice and oppression suffered from a foreign power. She is married to a certain Chief of another island, by whom she has two children; a man of a most brutal character, who, by intermeddling in the affairs of her government, and thereby being brought up, as he frequently is, before the Chiefs of the island acting in their capacity of judges, and reprimanded by them, he avenges himself by abusing and ill-treating the Queen. On some occasion, the British Consul requested Sir E. Belcher to go with him to the Queen, to endeavour to prevail on her to allow that this man should be summoned before the judges. He was so, and appeared; and, probably out of regard for Pomare, was only admonished. A few days afterwards the brute had fallen from his horse in a fit of intoxication, when the Queen fled to his assistance with all the warmth of affection, which he repaid by treating her in a most brutal manner on the high-road, seizing her by the hair, and but for her attendants would probably have murdered her. On his return home, he destroyed all her dresses, ornaments, furniture, &c., and attempted to set fire to the house.

The Queen, after this, made up her mind to sue for a divorce, and his removal to Huahine, his native island, to which place Captain Belcher offered to convey him. ‘To my utter astonishment,’ says the captain, ‘the Consul informed me the day following, that she had forgiven him. Poor woman,’ he adds, ‘I am afraid this is but a beginning of such scenes! She appears to be very fond of her children, and to feel much for her unprincipled husband; her forgiveness on this late occasion speaks volumes for her kindness of heart.’

Pomare, in this respect, is but a type of the upper class of females in Tahiti—a more kind-hearted, cheerful, and affectionate race of beings, are not any where to be found. On turning to Captain Cook for his opinion of the Tahitian females, so far back as 1773, we read as follows:—‘Great injustice has been done to the women of Otaheite and the Society Islands; the favours,’ he says, ‘of married women, and also of the unmarried of the better sort, are as difficult to be obtained here as in any other country whatever. On the whole,’ he adds, ‘a stranger who visits England might, with equal justice, draw the characters of the women there from those which he might meet with on board the ships in one of the naval ports, or in the purlieus of Covent-Garden or Drury-Lane.’ He admits

they are well versed in the arts of coquetry, and unreserved in conversation; and thinks these may have given them, more than any thing else, the character of libertines.

We can state, on unquestionable authority, that of the several Tahitian females, the daughters of Chiefs who are married to European residents, there is no instance, for many years past, of a separation having taken place on account of infidelity or levity of conduct. The affecting story of poor Peggy Stewart, (as she was generally called,) affords a strong instance of the fidelity and attachment of these simple-minded and affectionate creatures. When that ill-omened, but well-named ship, the *Pandora*, was sent in search of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, her unfortunate husband, Mr Stewart, (mate or midshipman,) immediately gave himself up, and was sent on board and placed in irons. His wife was the daughter of one of the Chiefs. 'They had lived with her old father in the most tender state of endearment; a beautiful little girl had been the fruit of their union, and was at the breast when the *Pandora* arrived.' Frantic with grief, the unhappy Peggy flew with her infant in a canoe to the arms of her husband. The interview was so affecting, that the officers on board were overwhelmed with anguish; and Stewart himself, unable to bear the heart-rending scene, begged she might not again be admitted on board. She was separated from him by violence, and conveyed on shore in a state of despair and grief too overwhelming for utterance; sunk into the deepest dejection; lost all relish for food and life; pined under a rapid decay of two months; and fell a victim to her feelings, dying literally of a broken heart.* On the loss, by shipwreck, of the *Pandora*, poor Stewart, being still in irons, and all too busy in saving themselves to think of releasing him, perished by drowning.

Since this period, the progress that has been made in civilization by the natives of both sexes at the Society Islands, and many of the several groups to the westward of them, in consequence of the labours of the Missionaries, and the numerous native and enlightened teachers, is quite extraordinary. All the Captains of the navy who have visited these islands—and several of whom have strictly examined these native teachers—bear testimony to the fact of their ability to instruct their pupils in the knowledge of scripture, the New Testament particularly. Sir E. Belcher, on his way to the westward, called at the beautiful

* 'Missionary Voyage to the Pacific.—Eventful History of the Mutiny of the *Bounty*.'

island of Raratonga, where he found the roads, enclosures, church, school, and private residences, an age, he says, in advance of Tahiti. He tells us that on this island neatness and regularity are the predominant features; and that the appearance of the native chief, as well as of those about him, reflects the highest credit on the present Missionary, Buzacott, as well as on the unfortunate originator of the present system—the late most excellent and exemplary pastor, Mr Williams, who was savagely murdered at the island of Errimango, (not Mallicolo, as Captain Belcher says,) one of the New Hebrides; whose inhabitants have been described by Cook and others, both men and women, as the most disgusting and ferocious brutes, and unlike to any of those on the eastern groups.—so savage, that no missionary, with the exception of Mr Williams, has, either before or since, ventured to visit them. •

How different was the state of society at Raratonga, where civilization has made most rapid strides! Here, owing to the instructions first given by Mr Williams, and his plan followed up by Mr Buzacott, the natives have not only been instructed in the duties of religion, but also in useful arts; they now manufacture furniture, tables, chairs, and sofas with cane bottoms, so that the visitor is not a little surprised to meet with all the conveniences and the comforts of a well-furnished house. They have a church, capable of accommodating about one thousand persons, a school opposite to it, with a printing-press, and a public market-place covered over. ‘It was pleasing,’ says Captain Belcher, ‘to witness the influence Mr Buzacott has acquired; not the servile fear of the Sandwich Islanders, but an honest, warm-hearted attachment. He is a pattern for the missionaries. Such men, by their conduct and labours, improve all around them. They prove their superiority by their ability to instruct others, and they leave behind them historical monuments of their utility, in the increased civilization and happiness of the people.’

In his progress to the westward, and calling at one of the Fijee Islands, he there found, or rather roundly asserts, that ‘cannibalism prevails.’ A gigantic fellow, of the name of Garin-garia, and his brother Thokanautu, brothers of the King, had been on an expedition, in which they killed the chief, and many hundreds of the population. ‘The sequel,’ he says, ‘will hardly be credited; yet it is beyond doubt. Cannibalism to a frightful degree prevails among this people, and is, as it would seem, almost one of their highest enjoyments. The victims of this ferocious slaughter were regularly prepared, being baked, pack-

‘ed, and distributed in portions to the various towns which furnished warriors, according to their exploits; and they were feasted on with a degree of savage barbarity nearly incredible.’

Nearly incredible! Wholly so, we should say; and still more so what is told of this gigantic Garingaria, ‘a noted cannibal, who killed one of his wives, and ate her.’ Certainly there is no accounting for tastes; and we know that the further we advance in the Polynesian Islands westerly, the more savage their inhabitants are, till we arrive at New Guinea. It is a curious fact, that the inhabitants of these islands are black as negroes, but with long or crisped hair, and are totally different from the brown Polynesians in manners and language. Captain Belcher passed all these, and through the Dutch settlements, to Singapore, where he found orders to proceed to China, where the assistance of surveyors was deemed necessary. Here, he and his assistant Kellet were of great use in the operations in the Canton estuary and river; but, as we have other sources of information respecting the occurrences that have recently taken place in China, we may here take leave of him.

We are rather surprised, however, that Sir E. Belcher, when at the Society Islands, had not the curiosity to look in upon the interesting inhabitants of Pitcairn’s Island—‘a little society which, under the precepts of *the sacred book*, is characterized by religion, morality, and innocence. The discovery of this happy people, as unexpected as it was accidental, and all that regards their conduct and history, partake so much of the romantic, as to render their story not ill adapted for an epic poem.’* Captain Jones, however, of the *Curaçoa*, visited the island two years later than Belcher’s voyage in those seas. He was delighted, as every visitor has been, with the innocence and simplicity of the females. He observes, that ‘the purity of morals and unsophisticated manners of the natives, which so charmed Sir Thomas Staines when he was there twenty-seven years ago, have unavoidably undergone a disadvantageous change, from a new generation having arisen, accustomed to constant communication and traffic with the crews of English, French, and American whalers.’ But he adds, ‘The women and children, however, still possess a single-mindedness, simplicity, and innocence, which I never met with before.’ Such, indeed, is the inherent sense of modesty and propriety of con-

* ‘Eventful History of the Mutiny of the *Bounty*.’

duct, that it is a well-known fact, that not an instance of female seduction has occurred by the native men or by foreigners, though no less than twenty-four merchant ships have called at the island, within the last two years; and be it remembered, that the whole population is derived entirely from Tahitian women, and their offspring, by Englishmen. Thus, in the year 1826, when both Englishmen and Tahitimen had been swept away by death, and one man only (old John Adams) remained, he was left with five female Tahitians, ten male and ten female children, twenty-two male and fifteen female grandchildren, making in the whole sixty-six, of which thirty-six were males, and thirty females. In 1839, the population had increased to one hundred and two, and in 1841 to one hundred and ten.

It is impossible to say too much in praise of Adams. With the aid of a Bible and Prayer-book, which he carefully kept by him, and regarded with religious awe and veneration, he wisely commenced with, and succeeded in inspiring into the rising generation, a conduct and feeling of morality and religion, which have never departed from them. He made the young children his first and anxious care; they entered into all his plans, obeyed his precepts, and, as they grew up, departed not from them, but acquired fixed habits of piety and morality; and, on his taking leave of this world, he expressed the great satisfaction he felt in seeing his little family formed into a happy and well regulated society. They have now a Mr Nobbs as their Schoolmaster and Minister, who has attentively, and with success, followed up the plan of their deceased friend and pastor. It is ardently to be wished, that those simple-minded people may preserve their innocence, and those religious principles, the foundation of which was laid by the patriarchal care of old John Adams.

ART. III.—*The Life of Andrew Marvell, the celebrated Patriot; with Extracts and Selections from his Prose and Poetical Works.*
By JOHN DOVE. 12mo. London: 1832.

ANDREW MARVELL was a native of Kingston-upon-Hull, where he was born Nov. 15, 1620. His father, of the same name, was master of the grammar school, and lecturer of Trinity Church in that town. He is described by Fuller and Echard as 'facetious,' so that his son's wit, it would appear, was hereditary. He is also said to have displayed considerable eloquence in the pulpit; and even to have excelled in that kind of oratory which would seem at first sight least allied to a mirthful temperament—we mean the *pathetic*. The conjunction, however, of wit and sensibility, has been found in a far greater number of instances than would at first sight be imagined, as we might easily prove by examples, if this were the place for it: nor would it be difficult to give the *rationale* of the fact. Both, at all events, are amongst the most general, though far from universal accompaniments of genius.—The diligence of Mr Marvell's pulpit preparations has been celebrated by Fuller in his 'Worthies,' with characteristic quaintness. 'He was a most excellent 'preacher' says he, 'who never broached what he had new brewed, but preached what he had pre-studied some competent time before, insomuch that he was wont to say, that he would cross 'the common proverb, which called Saturday the working day 'and Monday the holiday of preachers.' The lessons of the pulpit he enforced by the persuasive eloquence of a devoted life. During the pestilential epidemic of 1637, we are told that he distinguished himself by an intrepid discharge of his pastoral functions.

Having given early indications of superior talents, young Andrew was sent, when not quite fifteen years of age, to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was partly or wholly maintained by an exhibition from his native town. He had not been long there, when, like Chillingworth, he was ensnared by the proselyting arts of the Jesuits, who, with subtilty equal to their zeal, commissioned their emissaries specially to aim at the conversion of such of the university youths as gave indications of signal ability. It appears that he was inveigled from college to London. Having been tracked thither by his father, he was discovered after some months in a bookseller's shop, and restored to the university. During the two succeeding years he pursued his studies with diligence. About this period he lost his father under circumstances peculiarly affecting.

The death of this good man forms one of those little domestic tragedies—not infrequent in real life—to which imagination itself can scarcely add one touching incident, and which are as affecting as any that fiction can furnish. It appears that on the other side of the Humber lived a lady (an intimate friend of Marvell's father) who had an only and lovely daughter, endeared to all who knew her, and so much the idol of her mother that she could scarcely bear her to be out of her sight. On one occasion, however, she yielded to the importunity of Mr Marvell, and suffered her daughter to cross the water to Hull, to be present at the baptism of one of his children. The day after the ceremony, the young lady was to return. The weather was tempestuous, and on reaching the river's side, accompanied by Mr Marvell, the boatmen endeavoured to dissuade her from crossing. But, afraid of alarming her mother by prolonging her absence, she persisted. Mr Marvell added his importunities to the arguments of the boatmen, but in vain. Finding her inflexible, he told her that as she had incurred this peril to oblige him, he felt himself 'bound in 'honour and conscience' not to desert her; and, having prevailed on some boatmen to hazard the passage, they embarked together. As they were putting off, he flung his gold-headed cane on shore, and told the spectators that, in case he should never return, it was to be given his son, with the injunction 'to remember his 'father.' The boat was upset, and both were lost.

As soon as the mother had a little recovered the shock, she sent for the young orphan, intimated her intention to provide for his education, and at her death left him all she possessed.

One of his biographers informs us that young Marvell took his degree of B.A. in the year 1638, and was admitted to a scholarship.* If so, he did not retain it very long. Though in no further danger from the Jesuits, he seems to have been beset by more formidable enemies in his own bosom. Either from too early becoming his own master, or from being betrayed into follies to which his lively temperament and social qualities readily exposed him, he became negligent of his studies; and having absented himself from certain 'exercises,' and otherwise been guilty of sundry unacademic irregularities, he, with four others, was adjudged by the masters and seniors unworthy of 'receiving any 'further benefit from the college,' unless they showed just cause to the contrary within three months. The required vindication does not appear to have been found, or at all events was never offered. The record of this transaction bears date September 24, 1641.

* Cooke, in the life prefixed to Marvell's poems. 1726.

Soon after this, probably at the commencement of 1642, Marvell seems to have set out on his travels, in the course of which he visited a great part of Europe. At Rome he stayed a considerable time, where Milton was then residing, and where, in all probability, their lifelong friendship commenced. With an intrepidity, characteristic of both, it is said they openly argued against the superstitions of Rome within the precincts of the Vatican. It was here, also, that Marvell made the first essay of his satirical powers in a lampoon on Richard Flecknoe. It is now remembered only as having suggested the terrible satire of Dryden on the laureate Shadwell. At Paris he made another attempt at satire in Latin, of about the same order of merit. The subject of it was an Abbé named Lancelot Joseph de Maniban, who professed to interpret the characters and prognosticate the fortunes of strangers by an inspection of their handwriting.

After this we have no trace whatever of Marvell for some years; and his biographers have, as usual, endeavoured to supply the deficiency by conjecture—some of them so idly, that they have made him secretary to an embassy which had then no existence.

Mr Dove* says, that this lack of information respecting Marvell extends over eleven years—not quite, however, even on his own showing; for the very next record he supplies, tells us at least how the first four years of this period were spent, and a considerable though indeterminate portion at the close of it. The

* We gladly admit that Mr Dove's little volume is a tolerably full and accurate compilation of what is known to us of Andrew Marvell's history, and contains some pleasant extracts from his writings. But we must express our regret that he has been, in a trifling degree, misled, by adhering too literally to the etymology of the word 'compilation.' It is true that 'compilation' comes from *compilatio*, and equally true that *compilatio* means 'pillage;' but it does not follow that 'compilation' is to be literally 'pillage.' A considerable number of his sentences, sometimes whole paragraphs, are transferred from Mr D'Israeli's *Miscellanies*, and from two articles on Andrew Marvell which appeared in the *Retrospective Review* some twenty years ago, without alteration and without any sort of acknowledgment. Had they been printed between inverted commas, and the sources specified, we should have called it 'compilation,' but no 'pillage'—as it is, we must call it pillage, and not compilation. Mr Dove may, it is true, have been the author of the articles in question. If so, there was no conceivable reason why he should not have owned them, and we can only regret that he has omitted to do it. If not, we cannot justify the use he has made of them.

record referred to is a recommendatory letter of Milton to Bradshaw, dated Feb. 21, 1652. It appears that Marvell was then an unsuccessful candidate for the office of assistant Latin Secretary. In this letter, after describing Marvell as a man of 'singular desert,' both from 'report' and personal 'converse,' he proceeds to say—'He hath spent four years abroad, in Holland, France, Italy, and Spain, to very good purpose, as I believe, and the gaining of those four languages; besides, he is a scholar, and well read in the Latin and Greek authors, and no doubt of an approved conversation; for he comes now lately out of the house of the Lord Fairfax, where he was entrusted to give some instructions in the languages to the lady, his daughter.' Milton concludes the letter with a sentence which fully discloses the very high estimation he had formed of Marvell's abilities—'This; my lord, I write sincerely, without any other end than to perform my duty to the public in helping them to an humble servant; laying aside those jealousies and that emulation which mine own condition might suggest to me by bringing in such a coadjutor.'

In the following year, 1653, Marvell was appointed tutor to Cromwell's nephew, Mr Dutton. Shortly after receiving his charge, he addressed a letter to the Protector, from which we extract one or two sentences characteristic of his caution, good sense, and conscientiousness. 'I have taken care,' says he, 'to examine him [his pupil] several times in the presence of Mr Oxenbridge, as those who weigh and tell over money before some witness ere they take charge of it; for I thought there might be possibly some lightness in the coin, or error in the telling, which hereafter I should be bound to make good.' . . . 'He is of a gentle and waxen disposition; and God be praised, I cannot say he hath brought with him any evil impression, and I shall hope to set nothing into his spirit but what may be of a good sculpture. He hath in him two things that make youth most easy to be managed—modesty, which is the bridle to vice—and emulation, which is the spur to virtue.' . . . 'Above all, I shall labour to make him sensible of his duty to God; for then we begin to serve faithfully when we consider He is our master.'

On the publication of Milton's second 'Defence,' Marvell was commissioned to present it to the Protector. After doing so, he addressed a letter of compliment to Milton, the terms of which evince the strong admiration with which his illustrious friend had inspired him. His eulogy of the 'Defence' is as emphatic as that of the *Paradise Lost*, in the well known recommendatory lines prefixed to most editions of that poem.

In 1657, Marvell entered upon his duties as assistant Latin

Secretary with Milton. Cromwell died in the following year ; and from this period till the Parliament of 1660, we have no further account of him. We have seen it stated that he became member for Hull in 1658. But this is not true, and would be at variance with the statement in his epitaph, where it is said that he had occupied that post nearly twenty years. Had he been first elected in 1658, he would have been member somewhat more than that period.

During his long parliamentary career, Marvell maintained a close correspondence with his constituents—regularly sending to them, almost every post night during the sittings of Parliament, an account of its proceedings. These letters were first made public by Captain Thompson, and occupy about four hundred pages of the first volume of his edition of Marvell's works. They are written with great plainness, and with a business-like brevity, which must have satisfied, we should think, even the most laconic of his merchant constituents. They are chiefly valuable now, as affording proofs of the ability and fidelity with which their author discharged his public duties ; and as throwing light on some curious points of parliamentary usage and history. Some few sentences, interesting on these accounts, may be worth extracting. Of his diligence, the copiousness and punctuality of the correspondence itself are themselves the best proofs ; but many of the letters incidentally disclose others not less significant. The following evidence of it, few members now-a-days would be disposed to give, and no constituency, we should imagine, would be unreasonable enough to expect:—‘Sir, I must beg your excuse for paper, pens, writing, and every thing ; for really I have by ill chance neither eat nor drank from yesterday at noon till six o'clock to-night, that the House rose.’* And again—‘Really the business of the House hath been of late so earnest daily, and so long, that I have not had the time and scarce vigour left me, by night, to write to you ; and to-day, because I would not omit any longer, I lose my dinner to make sure of this letter.’† On another occasion he says—‘’Tis nine at night, and we are but just now risen ; and I write these few words in the Post-house, for sureness that my letter be not too late.’‡ In one letter we find him saying—‘I am something bound up, that I cannot write about your public affairs ; but I assure you they break my sleep.’§

Of his minute attention to all their local interests, and his watchful care over them, these letters afford ample proof ;

* Marvell's *Letters*, p. 302.

† *Ibid.* p. 106.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 83.

§ *Ibid.* p. 33.

and in this respect are well worthy of the study of honourable members of the present day. He usually commences each session of Parliament by requesting his constituents to consider, whether there were any local affairs in which they might more particularly require his aid, and to give him timely notice of them. His prudence is equally conspicuous in his abstinence from any dangerous comments on public affairs; he usually contents himself with detailing bare facts. This caution was absolutely necessary at a period when the officials of the Post-office made no scruple of breaking the seal of private correspondence, for the purpose of obtaining information for the Government. On one occasion this seems to have been done in his own case, as he tells his constituents that a letter of his had been shown about town. They vehemently disclaimed all knowledge of any breach of trust, in a very complimentary reply. In acknowledging this letter, he says—‘ I am very well satisfied, gentlemen, ‘ by your letter, that it was none of you ; but it seems, therefore, ‘ that there is *some sentinel set both upon you and upon me*, and ‘ to know it therefore is a sufficient caution : the best of it is, that ‘ none of us, I believe, either do say or write any thing, but ‘ what we care not though it be made public, although we do ‘ not desire it.’* He, notwithstanding, repeatedly cautions them not to let his letters be seen by any but themselves. In this respect, there is a striking yet perfectly natural contrast between the cautious statements of facts in his public correspondence, and the lively comments upon them in his private letters ; in which his indignant patriotism expresses itself with characteristic severity against the corruptions of the court. Thus, in a letter to a friend in Persia, we find the following memorable passage— ‘ Now, after my usual method, leaving to others what relates to ‘ business, I address myself, which is all that I am good for, to ‘ be your gazetteer. The King having, upon pretence of the ‘ great preparations of his neighbours, demanded three hundred ‘ thousand pounds for his navy, (though, in conclusion, he hath ‘ not set out any,) and that the Parliament should pay his debts, ‘ (which the ministers would never particularize to the House ‘ of Commons,) our House gave several bills. You see how far ‘ things were stretched, though beyond reason, there being no ‘ satisfaction how those debts were contracted, and all men foreseeing that what was given would not be applied to discharge ‘ the debts, which I hear are at this day risen to four millions ; ‘ but diverted as formerly. Nevertheless, such was the number

‘ of the constant courtiers increased by the apostate patriots, who
 ‘ were bought off for that turn—some at six, others ten, one at fif-
 ‘ teen thousand pounds in money, besides what offices, lands, and
 ‘ reversions to others, that it is a mercy they gave not away the
 ‘ whole land and liberty of England.’ *

In the same letter he thus speaks of the shamelessness with which the Parliament emulated the profligacy of the court—prostituting its own and the nation’s honour as vilely as the royal mistresses it enriched had prostituted theirs :—‘ They have
 ‘ signed and sealed ten thousand pounds a-year more to the
 ‘ Duchess of Cleveland, who has likewise near ten thousand
 ‘ pounds a-year out of the new farm of the country excise of
 ‘ beer and ale, five thousand pounds a-year out of the Post-
 ‘ office, and, they say, the reversion of all the King’s leases,
 ‘ the reversion of all places in the Custom-house, the green
 ‘ wax, and indeed what not? All promotions, spiritual and
 ‘ temporal, pass under her cognizance.’ † On the King’s un-
 ‘ welcome visits to the House of Peers, he says—‘ Being sat, he
 ‘ told them it was a privilege he claimed from his ancestors to
 ‘ be present at their deliberations, That therefore they should
 ‘ not, for his coming, interrupt their debates, but proceed, and be
 ‘ covered. They did so. It is true that this has been done
 ‘ long ago; but it is now so old that it is new, and so disused
 ‘ that at any other but so bewitched a time as this, it would have
 ‘ been looked on as an high usurpation and breach of privilege.
 ‘ He indeed sat still, for the most part, and interposed very little,
 ‘ sometimes a word or two. After three or
 ‘ four days’ continuance, the lords were very well used to the
 ‘ King’s presence, and sent the Lord Steward and Lord
 ‘ Chamberlain to him, (to know) when they might wait, as a
 ‘ House on him, to render their humble thanks for the honour
 ‘ he did them! The hour was appointed them, and they thanked
 ‘ him, and he took it well. So this matter, of such importance
 ‘ on all great occasions, seems riveted to them and us, for the
 ‘ future, and to all posterity. The King has
 ‘ ever since continued his session among them, and says it is
 ‘ better than going to a play.’ ‡

Marvell’s stainless probity and honour everywhere appear, and in no case more amiably than in the unhappy misunderstanding with his colleague, or ‘ his partner’ as he calls him, Colonel Gilby, in 1661, and which seems to have arisen out of some electioneering proceedings. With such unrivalled talents for ridicule as

Marvell possessed, one might not unnaturally have expected that this dispute would have furnished an irresistible temptation to some ebullition of witty malice. But his magnanimity was far superior to such mean retaliation. He is eager to do his opponent the amplest justice, and to put the fairest construction on his conduct. He is fearful only lest their private quarrel should be of the slightest detriment to the public service. He says—‘ The bonds of civility betwixt Colonel Gilby and myself ‘ being unhappily snapped in pieces, and in such manner that I ‘ cannot see how it is possible ever to knit them again : the only ‘ trouble that I have is, lest by our mis-intelligence your busi- ‘ ness should receive any disadvantage. . . . Truly, I ‘ believe, that as to your public trust and the discharge thereof, ‘ we do each of us still retain the same principles upon which ‘ we first undertook it ; and that, though perhaps we may some- ‘ times differ in our advice concerning the way of proceeding, yet ‘ we have the same good ends in the general ; and by this unlucky ‘ falling out, we shall be provoked to a greater emulation of ser- ‘ ving you.’ * Yet the offence, whatever it was, must have been a grave one, for he says at the conclusion of the same letter—‘ I ‘ would not tell you any tales, because there are nakednesses ‘ which it becomes us to cover, if it be possible ; as I shall, un- ‘ less I be obliged to make some vindications by any false report ‘ or misinterpretations. In the mean time, pity, I beseech you, ‘ my weakness ; *for there are some things which men ought not, ‘ others that they cannot patiently suffer.*’ †

Of his integrity even in little things—of his desire to keep his conscience pure and his reputation untarnished—we have some striking proofs. On one occasion he had been employed by his constituents to wait on the Duke of Monmouth, then governor of Hull, with a complimentary letter, and to present him with a purse containing ‘ six broad pieces ’ as an honorary fee. He says—‘ He had before I came in, as I was told, con- ‘ sidered what to do with the gold ; and but that I by all means ‘ prevented the offer, I had been in danger of being reimbursed ‘ with it.’ ‡ In the same letter he says—‘ I received the bill ‘ which was sent me on Mr Nelehorpe ; but the surplus of it ‘ exceeding much the expense I have been at on this occasion, ‘ I desire you to make use of it, and of me, upon any other opportunity.’ §

In one of his letters he makes the following declaration,

* Marvell's *Letters*, p. 33, 34.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 210.

† *Ibid.* p. 36.

§ *Ibid.* p. 210.

which we have no doubt was perfectly sincere, and, what is still more strange, implicitly believed :— ‘ I shall, God willing, maintain the same *incorrupt mind and clear conscience, free from faction or any self-ends, which I have, by his grace, hitherto preserved.*’ *

We have said that these letters are also interesting as incidentally illustrating parliamentary usage. Marvell was one of the last—if not the very last—who received the wages which members were entitled by law to demand of their constituents. To this subject he makes some curious references. On more than one occasion it appears, that members had sued their constituents for arrears of pay ; while others had threatened to do so, unless the said constituents agreed to re-elect them at the next election. ‘ To-day,’ says he in a letter dated March 3, 1676-7, ‘ Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Master of the Rolls, moved for a bill to be brought in, to indemnify all counties, cities, and boroughs for the wages due to their members for the time past, which was introduced by him upon very good reason, both because of the poverty of many people not able to supply so long an arrear, especially new taxes now coming upon them, and also because Sir John Shaw, the Recorder of Colchester, had sued the town for his wages ; several other members also having, it seems, threatened their boroughs to do the same, unless they should chuse them, upon another election, to Parliament.’ † The conditions of re-election are assuredly strangely altered now—it is no longer possible to drive so thrifty a bargain, or bribe after so ingenious a fashion. But these ‘ wages,’ moderate as they were—only about two shillings a-day to a member of a borough, and to a county member four—were in some cases alleged to be so heavy a tax, that instances occur of unpatriotic boroughs begging to be *disfranchised*, to escape the burdensome honour of sending members to Parliament ! Nor was the reluctance always on one side. At earlier periods of our history, we have accounts of members who, notwithstanding this liberal pay—about that of a hedger and ditcher in these more luxurious days—found the inconveniences of membership so great, and the honour in their unambitious estimate so small, that they shrank from representing a borough, as much as the borough from the dignity of being represented ; and expressed their aversion with as much sincerity as ever primitive Bishop, in times of hot persecution, cried ‘ *Nolo Episcopari.*’ Nay, there are authentic cases on record, in which the candidates fairly ran away from the proffered dignity, and even

* Marvell's *Letters*, p. 276.

† *Ibid.* p. 289.

resisted it *vi et armis*. Strange revolutions! we are ready to exclaim, that a man should now be willing to spend a fortune even in the unsuccessful pursuit of an honour which his ancestors were reluctant to receive even when paid for it; and that constituencies should resist, as the last insult and degradation, that disfranchisement which many of them in ancient times would have been but too happy to accept as a privilege!

In such a state of things we can hardly wonder, that the attendance of members was not very prompt and punctual, or that great difficulty was often found in obtaining a full House. Severe penalties were threatened at various times against the absentees. In one letter we are told—‘The House was called yesterday, and gave defaulters a fortnight’s time, by which, if they do not come up, they may expect the greatest severity.’* In another—‘The House of Commons was taken up for the most part yesterday in calling over their House, and have ordered a letter to be drawn up from the Speaker to every place for which there is any defaulter, to signify the absence of their member, and a solemn letter is accordingly preparing, to be signed by the Speaker. This is thought a sufficient punishment for *any modest man*; nevertheless, if they shall not come up hereupon, there is a further severity reserved.’†

More than once we find a proposition, that these absentees should be punished by being compelled to pay double proportions toward the never-ending subsidies. One member proposed that the mulcts thus extorted from negligent or idle senators, should be exclusively employed in building a ship, to be called *The Sinner’s Frigate*—an ill-boding name, and applicable only to a vessel

‘Built in the eclipse, and rigg’d with curses dark.’

Though the law-makers of that age were paid at little more than the rate of a journeyman tailor of modern times, their performances, if estimated by their value, were greatly overpaid. When we see in Marvell’s correspondence how the House was frequently employed—shamefully betraying the nation with whose interests they were entrusted—taxing the groaning people to support the royal profligacy—ingeniously contriving the most elaborate and comprehensive methods of ruin, and pursuing the worst ends by the worst means—diminishing, by their absurd enactments in relation to trade and commerce, that very revenue which was almost their sole object of solicitude—addressing the King, that he will be pleased

* Marvell’s *Letters*, p. 117.

† *Ibid.* p. 240.

to abstain from wearing one shred of foreign manufacture, and to discountenance the use of it in his subjects—bringing in bills that all Nonconformists shall pay double taxes, and that all persons shall be buried in woollens ‘for the next six or seven years’—and other things of a similar nature, we cannot forbear lifting up our hands in astonishment at the vaunted wisdom of our ancestors.

Some strange scenes appear now and then to have occurred in the Commons, and worthy rather of an Arkansas House of Assembly than of a British Parliament. The following is an example; though, as usual in such squabbles, the ‘Pickwickian construction’ of all offensive words seems to have prevailed at last. ‘One day, upon a dispute of telling right upon division, both parties grew so hot that all order was lost; men came running up confusedly to the table, grievously affronted one by another; every man’s hand on his hilt, quieted though at last, by the prudence of the Speaker; every man in his place being obliged to stand up and engage his honour, not to resent any thing of that day’s proceeding.’*

The disputes with the Lords were frequent, and difficult of adjustment. The following is a droll complication of their relations, and almost as hopeless as the ‘dead-lock’ in the *Critic*. ‘I have no more time than to tell you, that the Lords having judged and fined the East India Company, as we think *illegally*, upon the petition of one Skyner, a merchant, and they petitioning us for redress, we have imprisoned him that petitioned *them*, and they have imprisoned several of those that petitioned *us*. . . . It is a business of very high and dangerous consequence.’†

One or two other brief extracts from these letters seem not unworthy of insertion. The following is a curious example of the odd accidents on which the most important events depend. Sir G. Carteret had been charged with embezzlement of public money. ‘The House dividing upon the question, the ayes went out, and wondered why they were kept out so extraordinary a time; the ayes proved 138, and the noes 129; and the reason of the long stay then appeared:—The tellers for the ayes chanced to be very ill reckoners, so that they were forced to tell several times over in the House; and when at last the tellers for the ayes would have agreed the noes to be 142, the noes would needs say that they were 143; whereupon those for the ayes would tell once more, and then found the noes to be indeed but 129, and the ayes then coming in proved to be

‘ 138, whereas if the noes had been content with the first error of the tellers, Sir George had been quit upon that observation.’*

The following sounds odd—‘ Yesterday, upon complaint of some violent arrests made in several churches, even during sermon time, nay, of one taken out betwixt the bread and the cup in receiving the sacrament, the House ordered that a bill be brought in for *better* observing the Lord’s Day.’ †

‘ *To William Ramsden, Esq.*—I think I have not told you that, on our bill of subsidy, the Lord Lucas made a fervent bold speech against our prodigality in giving, and the weakness of the government, the King being present; and the Lord Clare another to persuade the King that he ought not to be present. But all this had little encouragement, not being seconded. Copies going about every where, one of them was brought into the Lords’ house, and Lord Lucas was asked whether it was his. He said, part was and part was not. Thereupon they took advantage, and said it was a libel even against Lucas himself. On this they voted it a libel, and to be burned by the hangman, which was done; but the sport was, the hangman burned the Lords’ order with it. I take the last quarrel betwixt us and the Lords to be as the ashes of that speech.’ ‡

Not seldom, to the very moderate ‘ wages’ of a legislator, was added some homely expression of good-will on the part of the constituents. That of the Hull people generally appeared in the shape of a stout cask of ale, for which Marvell repeatedly returns thanks. In one letter he says—‘ We must first give you thanks for the kind present you have pleased to send us, which will give occasion to us to remember you often; but the quantity is so great that it might make sober men forgetful.’ §

Marvell’s correspondence extends through nearly twenty years. From June 1661, there is, however, a considerable break, owing to his absence for an unknown period—probably about two years—in Holland. He showed little disposition to return till Lord Bellasis, then high steward of Hull, proposed to that worthy corporation to choose a substitute for their absent member. They replied that he was not far off, and would be ready at their summons. He was then at Frankfort, and at the solicitation of his constituents immediately returned, April 1663.

But he had not been more than three months at home, when he intimates to his correspondents his intention to accept

* Marvell’s *Letters*, p. 125, 126.

† *Ibid.* p. 416.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 189.

§ *Ibid.* p. 14, 15.

an invitation to accompany Lord Carlisle, who had been appointed ambassador-extraordinary to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. He formally solicits the assent of his constituents to this step, urges the precedents for it, and assures them that during his watchful colleague's attendance, his own services may be easily dispensed with. His constituents consented; he sailed in July, and appears to have been absent rather more than a year. We find him in his place in the Parliament that assembled at Oxford, 1665.

In 1671, for some unknown reason, there is another *hiatus* in his correspondence. It extends over three years. From 1674, the letters are regularly continued till his death. There is no proof that he ever spoke in Parliament; but it appears that he made copious notes of all the debates.

The strong views which Marvell took on public affairs—the severe, satirical things which he had said and written from time to time—and the conviction of his enemies, that it was impossible to silence him by the usual methods of a place or a bribe, must have rendered a wary and circumspect conduct very necessary. In fact, we are informed that on more than one occasion he was menaced with assassination. But, though hated by the Court party generally, he was as generally feared, and in some few instances respected. Prince Rupert continued to honour him with his friendship long after the rest of his party had honoured him by their hatred, and occasionally visited the patriot at his lodgings. When he voted on the side of Marvell, which was not infrequently the case, it used to be said that ‘he had been with his tutor.’

Inaccessible as Marvell was to flattery and offers of preferment, it certainly was not for want of temptations. The account of his memorable interview with the Lord Treasurer Danby has been often repeated, and yet it would be unpardonable to omit it here. Marvell, it appears, once spent an evening at Court, and fairly charmed the merry monarch by his accomplishments and wit. At this we need not wonder: Charles loved wit above all things—except sensual pleasure. To his admiration of it, especially the humorous species, he was continually sacrificing his royal dignity. On the morning after the above-mentioned interview, he sent Lord Danby to wait on the patriot with a special message of regard. His lordship had some difficulty in ferreting out Marvell's residence; but at last found him on a second floor, in a dark court leading out of the Strand. It is said, that groping up the narrow staircase, he stumbled against the door of Marvell's humble apartment, which, flying open, discovered him writing. A little surprised, he asked his lordship

with a smile if he had not mistaken his way. The latter replied, in courtly phrase—‘No; not since I have found Mr ‘Marvell.’ He proceeded to inform him that he came with a message from the King, who was impressed with a deep sense of his merits, and was anxious to serve him. Marvell replied with somewhat of the spirit of the founder of the Cynics, but with a very different manner, ‘that his Majesty had it not in his ‘power to serve him.’* Becoming more serious, however, he told his lordship that he well knew that he who accepts court favour is expected to vote in its interest. On his lordship’s saying, ‘that ‘his Majesty only desired to know whether there was any place ‘at Court he would accept;’ the patriot replied, ‘that he could ‘accept nothing with honour. for either he must treat the King ‘with ingratitude by refusing compliance with Court measures, ‘or be a traitor to his country by yielding to them.’ The only favour, therefore, he begged of his Majesty, was to esteem him as a loyal subject, and truer to his interests in *refusing* his offers than he could be by *accepting* them. His lordship having exhausted this species of logic, tried the *argumentum ad crumenam*, and told him that his Majesty requested his acceptance of £1000. But this, too, was rejected with firmness; ‘though,’ says his biographer, ‘soon after the departure of his ‘lordship, Marvell was compelled to borrow a guinea from a ‘friend.’

In 1672 commenced Marvell’s memorable controversy with Samuel Parker, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, of which we shall give a somewhat copious account. To this it is entitled from the important influence which it had on Marvell’s reputation and fortunes; and as having led to the composition of that work, on which his literary fame, so far as he has any, principally depends—we mean the *Rehearsal Transposed*.

Parker was one of the worst specimens of the highest of the high churchmen of the reign of Charles II. It is difficult in such times as these to conceive of such a character as, by uni-

* Another and less authentic version of this anecdote has been given, much more circumstantial indeed, but on that very account, in our judgment, more apocryphal. But if the main additions to the story be fictions, they are amongst those fictions which have gained extensive circulation only because they are felt to be not intrinsically improbable. We have been at some pains to investigate the origin of this version; but can trace it no further than to a pamphlet printed in Ireland about the middle of the last century. Of this we have not been able to get a perusal. Suffice it to say, that the version it contains of the above interview, and which has been extensively circulated, is not borne out by the early biographies; for example, that of Cooke, 1726.

versal testimony, Parker is proved to have been. Even Addison's Tory Fox-hunter—who thought there had been 'no good weather since the Revolution,' and who proceeded to descant on the 'fine days they used to have in King Charles II.'s reign; whose dog was chiefly endeared to him because he had once 'like to have worried a Dissenting teacher;' and who 'had no other notion of religion but that it consisted in hating Presbyterians'—does not truly represent him. Such men could not well flourish in any other age than that of Charles II. Only in such a period of unblushing profligacy—of public corruption, happily unexampled in the history of England—could we expect to find a Bishop Parker, and his patron and parallel, Archbishop Sheldon. The high churchmen of that day managed to combine the most hideous bigotry, with an utter absence of seriousness—a zeal worthy of a 'Pharisee' with a character which would have disgraced a 'publican.' Apparently as attached to the veriest minutiae of their high church orthodoxy as any of the sincere bigots of the present Oxford school—they gave reason to their very friends to doubt whether they did not secretly despise even the cardinal doctrines of Christianity.* Scarcely Christians in creed, and any thing rather than Christians in practice, they yet insisted on the most scrupulous compliance with the most trivial points of ceremonial; and persisted in persecuting thousands of devout and honest men, because they hesitated to obey. Things which they admitted to be indifferent, and which, without violation of conscience, they might have forborne to enforce, they remorselessly urged on those who solemnly declared that without such a violation they could not comply. More tolerant of acknowledged vice than of supposed error, drunkenness and debauchery were venial, compared with doubts about the propriety of making the sign of the cross in baptism, or using the ring in marriage; and it would have been better for a man to break half the commands in the decalogue, than admit a doubt of the most frivolous of the church's rites. Equally truculent and servile,

* Of Sheldon Bishop Burnet says, that 'he seems not to have had any clear sense of religion, if any at all.' Of Parker he speaks yet more strongly. But perhaps the most striking testimony is that of a Jesuit, Father Edward Petre, cited by Mr Dove. He says, 'the Bishop of Oxford has not yet declared himself openly: the great obstacle is his *wife*, whom he cannot rid himself of: though I do not see how he can be further useful to us in the religion he is in, because he is suspected, and of no esteem among the heretics of the English Church. . . . If he had believed my counsel, which was to *temporize* for some *longer time*, he would have done better.' Surely this Jesuit and his pupil were well matched for honesty.

they displayed to all above them a meanness proportioned to the insolence they evinced to all below them. While holding the same high church extravagances with their modern successors, they were far from participating in the same jealousy of the state, which they were ready to arm with the most despotic authority. They formally invested the monarch with absolute power over the consciences of his subjects; and, with a practice in harmony with their principles, were ready at any moment, (if they had had any,) to surrender their own. As far as appears, they would have been willing to embrace the faith of Mahometans or Hindoos at the bidding of his Majesty; and to believe and disbelieve as he commanded them. Extravagant as all this may appear, we shall shortly see it gravely propounded by Parker himself. It was fit that those who were willing to offer such vile adulation, should be suffered to present it to such an object as Charles II.—that so grotesque an idolatry should have as grotesque an idol. As it was, the God was every way worthy of the worshippers. In a word, these men seemed to reconcile the most opposite vices and the widest contrarieties; bigotry and laxity—pride and meanness—religious scrupulosity and mocking scepticism—a persecuting zeal against conscience, and an indulgent latitudinarianism towards vice—the truculence of tyrants, and the sycophancy of parasites.

Happily the state of things which generated such men has long since passed away. But examples of this sort of high churchmanship were not infrequent in the age of Charles II.; and perhaps Bishop Parker may be considered the most perfect specimen of them. His father was one of Oliver Cromwell's most obsequious committee-men; his son, who was born in 1640, was brought up in the principles of the Puritans, and was sent to Oxford in 1659. He was just twenty at the Restoration, and immediately commenced and soon completed his transformation into one of the most arrogant and time-serving of high churchmen.

Some few propositions, for which he came earnestly to contend as for the faith once delivered to the Saints, may give an idea of the principles and the temper of this worthy successor of the Apostles. He affirms, 'That unless Princes have power to bind their subjects to that religion they apprehend most advantageous to public peace and tranquillity, and restrain those religious mistakes that tend to its subversion, they are no better than statues and images of authority—That in cases and disputes of public concernment, private men are not properly *sui juris*; they have no power over their own actions; they are not to be directed by their own judgments, or determined by their own wills, but

‘ by the commands and the determinations of the public conscience; and that if there be any sin in the command, he that imposed it shall answer for it, and not I, whose whole duty it is to obey. The commands of authority will warrant my obedience; my obedience will hallow, or at least excuse my action, and so secure me from sin, if not from error; and in all doubtful and disputable cases ’tis better to err with authority, than to be in the right against it: That it is absolutely necessary to the peace and happiness of kingdoms, that there be set up a more severe government over men’s consciences and religious persuasions than over their vices and immoralities; and that princes may with less hazard give liberty to men’s vices and debaucheries than their consciences.’ *

He must have a very narrow mind or uncharitable heart, who cannot give poor human nature credit for the sincere adoption of the most opposite opinions. Still there are limits to this exercise of charity; there may be such a concurrence of suspicious symptoms, that our charity can be exercised only at the expense of common sense. We can easily conceive, under ordinary circumstances, Dissenters becoming Churchmen, and Churchmen becoming Dissenters; Tories and Whigs changing sides; Protestants and Romanists, like those two brothers mentioned in Locke’s second ‘Letter on Toleration,’ † so expert in logic as to convert one another, and then, unhappily, not expert enough to convert one another back again—and all without any suspicion of insincerity. But when we find very great revolutions of opinion, at the same time very sudden, and exquisitely well-timed in relation to private interest;—when we find these changes, let them be what they may, always, like those of the heliotrope, towards the sun;—when we find a man utterly uncharitable even to his own previous errors, and maligning and abusing all who still retain them, it is impossible to doubt the motives which have animated him. On this subject Marvell himself well observes—‘ Though a man be obliged to change a hundred times backward and forward, if his judgment be so weak and variable, yet there are some drudgeries that no man of honour would put himself upon, and but few submit to if they were imposed; as, suppose one had thought fit to pass over from one persuasion of the Christian religion into another, he would not choose to spit thrice at every article that he relinquished, to curse solemnly his father and mother for having educated him in those opinions, to animate his new acquaintances to the massacring of his former com-

* *The Rehearsal Transposed*.—Vol. I. pp. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.

† Locke’s Works.—Vol. V. p. 79.

‘rades. These are businesses that can only be expected from ‘a renegade of Algiers and Tunis;—to overdo in expiation, and ‘gain better credence of being a sincere Mussulman.’*

Marvell gives an amusing account of the progress of Parker’s conversion—of the transformation by which the maggot became a carrion-fly. In the second part of the *Rehearsal*, after a humorous description of his parentage and youth, he tells us that at the Restoration ‘he came to London, where he spent a ‘considerable time in creeping into all corners and companies, ‘horoscoping up and down’ (‘astrologizing’ as he elsewhere expresses it) ‘concerning the duration of the government;—not ‘considering any thing as *best*, but as *most lasting*, and *most profitable*. And after having many times cast a figure, he at ‘last satisfied himself that the Episcopal government would endure as long as this King lived, and from thenceforward cast ‘about how to be admitted into the Church of England, and find ‘the highway to her preferments. In order to this, he daily enlarged not only his conversation but his conscience, and was ‘made free of some of the town vices; imagining, like Muleasses, ‘King of Tunis, (for I take witness that on all occasions I treat ‘him rather above his quality than otherwise,) that, by hiding ‘himself among the onions, he should escape being traced by his ‘perfumes.’† Marvell sketches the early history and character of Parker in both parts of the *Rehearsal*—though, as might be expected, with greater severity in the second than in the first. A few ludicrous sentences may not displease the reader. He says:—

‘This gentleman, as I have heard, after he had read Don Quixote and the Bible, besides such school-books as were necessary for his age, was sent early to the university; and there studied hard, and in a short time became a competent rhetorician, and no ill disputant. He had learned how to erect a *thesis*, and to defend it *pro* and *con* with a serviceable distinction. . . . And so, thinking himself now ripe and qualified for the greatest undertakings and highest fortune, he therefore exchanged the narrowness of the university for the town; but coming out of the confinement of the square cap and the quadrangle into the open air, the world began to turn round with him, which he imagined, though it were his own giddiness, to be nothing less than the quadrature of the circle. This accident concurring so happily to increase the good opinion which he naturally had of himself, he thenceforward applied to gain a like reputation with others. He followed the town life, haunted the best companies; and, to polish himself from any pedantic roughness, he

* *Rehearsal Transposed*.—Vol. I. pp. 91, 92.

† *Ibid.*—Vol. II. pp. 77, 78.

read and saw the plays with much care, and more proficiency than most of the auditory. But all this while he forgot not the main chance; but hearing of a vacancy with a nobleman, he clapped in, and easily obtained to be his chaplain; from that day you may take the date of his preferments and his ruin; for having soon wrought himself dexterously into his patron's favour, by short graces and sermons, and a mimical way of drolling upon the Puritans, which he knew would take both at chapel and at table, he gained a great authority likewise among all the domestics. They all listened to him as an oracle; and they allowed him, by common consent, to have not only all the divinity, but more wit, too, than all the rest of the family put together. . . . Nothing now must serve him, but he must be a madman in print, and write a book of Ecclesiastical Polity. There he distributes all the territories of conscience into the Prince's province, and makes the Hierarchy to be but Bishops of the air; and talks at such an extravagant rate in things of higher concernment, that the reader will avow that in the whole discourse he had not one lucid interval.*

The work here mentioned, his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, was published in the year 1670. But the book which called forth Marvell, was a Preface to a posthumous work of Archbishop Bramhall's, which appeared in 1672. In this piece, Parker had displayed his usual zeal against the Nonconformists with more than usual acrimony, and pushed to the uttermost extravagance his favourite maxims of ecclesiastical tyranny. Like his previous works on similar matters, it was anonymous, though the author was pretty well known. Marvell dubs him 'Mr Bayes,' under which name the Duke of Buckingham had ridiculed Dryden in the well-known play of the *Rehearsal*; from the title of which Marvell designated his book, *The Rehearsal Transposed*. The latter word was suggested by the scene in which Mr Bayes gives an account of the manner in which he manufactured his plays. 'Bayes—Why, sir, my first rule is 'the rule of transversion, or *regula duplex*,—changing verse 'into prose, or prose into verse, *alternativé*, as you please.' 'Smith—Well, but how is this done by rule, sir?' 'Bayes—'Why thus, sir; nothing so easy when understood. I take a book in my hand, either at home or elsewhere, for that's all one: 'if there be any wit in't, as there is no book but has some, I 'transverse it; that is, if it be prose put it into verse, (but that 'takes up some time,) and if it be verse put it into prose.' 'Johnson—Methinks, Mr Bayes, that putting verse into prose 'should be called *transposing*.' 'Bayes—By my troth, sir, 'tis a 'very good notion and hereafter it shall be so.'

The success of the *Rehearsal* was instant and signal. 'After

‘ Parker had for some years entertained the nation with several ‘ virulent books,’ says Burnet, ‘ he was attacked by the liveliest ‘ droll of the age, who wrote in a burlesque strain, but with so ‘ peculiar and entertaining a conduct, that, from the King down ‘ to the tradesman, his books were read with great pleasure ; that ‘ not only humbled Parker, but the whole party ; for the author ‘ of the *Rehearsal Transposed* had all the men of wit, (or, as the ‘ French phrase it, all the *laughers*,) on his side.’

In fact, Marvell exhibited his adversary in so ridiculous a light, that even his own party could not keep their countenances. The unhappy churchman resembled Gulliver at the court of Brobdignag, when the mischievous page stuck him into the marrow-bone. He cut such a ridiculous figure, that, says the author, even the King and his courtiers could not help laughing at him.

The first part of the *Rehearsal* elicited several answers. They were written for the most part in very unsuccessful imitation of Marvell’s style of banter, and are now wholly forgotten. Marvell gives an amusing account of the efforts which were made to obtain effective replies, and of the hopes of preferment which may be supposed to have inspired their authors. Parker himself for some time declined any reply. At last came out his *Reproof to the Rehearsal Transposed*, in which he urged the Government ‘ to crush the pestilent wit, the servant of Cromwell, and the ‘ friend of Milton.’ To this work Marvell replied in the second part of the *Rehearsal*. He was further spirited to it by an anonymous letter, pleasant and laconic enough, left for him at a friend’s house, signed ‘ T. G.,’ and concluding with the words— ‘ If thou darest to print any lie or libel against Dr Parker, by ‘ the eternal God, I will cut thy throat!’ He who wrote it, whoever he was, was ignorant of Marvell’s nature, if he thought thereby to intimidate him into silence. His intrepid spirit was but further provoked by this insolent threat, which he took care to publish in the title-page of his Reply. To this publication Parker attempted no rejoinder. Anthony Wood himself tells us, that Parker ‘ judged it more prudent to lay down ‘ the cudgels, than to enter the lists again with an untowardly ‘ combatant, so hugely well versed and experienced in the then ‘ but newly refined art ; though much in mode and fashion ever ‘ since, of sporting and jeering buffoonery. It was generally ‘ thought, however, by many of those who were otherwise ‘ favourers of Parker’s cause, that the victory lay on Marvell’s ‘ side, and it wrought this good effect on Parker, that for ever ‘ after it took down his great spirit.’ And Burnet tells us, that he ‘ withdrew from the town, and ceased writing for some years.’

Of this greatest work of Marvell's singular genius it is difficult, even if we had space for it, to present the reader with any considerable extracts. The allusions are often so obscure—the wit of one page is so dependent on that of another—the humour and pleasantry are so continuous—and the character of the work, from its very nature, is so excursive, that its merits can be fully appreciated only on a regular perusal. We regret to say, also, that there are other reasons which render any very lengthened citations undesirable. The work has faults which would, in innumerable cases, disguise its real merit from modern readers, or rather deter them from giving it a reading altogether. It is characterized by much of the coarseness which was so prevalent in that age, and from which Marvell was by no means free; though, as we shall endeavour hereafter to show, his spirit was far from partaking of the malevolence of ordinary satirists. Some few instances of felicitous repartee, or ludicrous imagery, which we have noted in a reperusal of the work, will be found further on.

Yet the reader must not infer that the only, or even the chief, merit of the *Rehearsal Transposed* consists in wit and banter. Not only is there, amidst all its ludicrous levities, 'a vehemence of solemn reproof, and an eloquence of invective, that awes one with the spirit of the modern Junius;'* but there are many passages of very powerful reasoning, in advocacy of truths then but ill understood, and of rights which had been shamefully violated.

Perhaps the most interesting passages of the work are those in which Marvell refers to his great friend, John Milton. Parker, with his customary malignity, had insinuated that the poet, who was then living in cautious retirement, might have been the author of the *Rehearsal*—apparently with the view of turning the indignation of Government upon the illustrious recluse. Marvell had always entertained towards Milton a feeling of reverence akin to idolatry, and this stroke of deliberate malice was more than he could bear. He generously hastened to throw his shield over his aged and prostrate patron.

About three years after the publication of the second part of the *Rehearsal*, Marvell's chivalrous love of justice impelled him again to draw the sword. In 1675, Dr Croft, Bishop of Hereford, had published a work entitled, 'The Naked Truth, or the true state of the Primitive Church, by a humble Moderator.' This work deserved the character of that sermon which Corporal

Trim shook out of the volume of Stevinus. ‘If you have no objections,’ said Mr Shandy, to Dr Slop, ‘Trim shall read it.’ ‘Not in the least,’ replied Dr Slop, ‘for it does not appear on which side of the question it is wrote; it may be a composition of a divine of *our* church as well as of *yours*, so that we run equal risks.’ ‘Tis wrote upon *neither* side,’ quoth Trim, ‘for it is *only* upon conscience, an’ please your honours.’ Even so was it with the good Bishop’s little piece. It was written on neither side. It enjoined on all religious parties the unwelcome duties of forbearance and charity; but as it especially exposed the danger and folly of enforcing a minute uniformity, it could not be suffered to pass unchallenged in that age of high church intolerance. It was petulantly attacked by Dr Francis Turner, Master of St John’s College, Cambridge, in a pamphlet entitled, ‘Animadversions on the Naked Truth.’ This provoked our satirist, who replied in a pamphlet entitled, ‘Mr Smirke, or the Divine in Mode.’ He here fits his antagonist with a character out of Etherege’s ‘Man of Mode’—as he had before fitted Parker with one from Buckingham’s ‘Rehearsal.’ The merits and defects of this pamphlet are of much the same order as those of his former work—it is perhaps less disfigured by coarseness and vehemence. Of Dr Croft’s pamphlet, he beautifully expresses a feeling, of which we imagine few of us can have been unconscious when perusing any work which strongly appeals to our reason and conscience, and in which, as we proceed, we seem to recognize what we have often thought, but never uttered. ‘It is a book of that kind, that no Christian can peruse it without wishing himself to have been the author, and almost imagining that he is so: the conceptions therein being of so eternal an idea, that every man finds it to be but a copy of the original in his own mind.’

To this little *brochure* was attached, ‘A Short Historical Essay concerning general Councils, Creeds, and Impositions in matters of Religion.’ It is characterized by the same strong sense and untiring vivacity as his other writings, and evinces a creditable acquaintance with ecclesiastical history; but it is neither copious nor profound enough for the subject.

In 1677, Marvell published his last controversial piece, elicited like the rest by his disinterested love of fair play. It was a defence of the celebrated divine, John Howe, whose conciliatory tract on the ‘Divine Prescience’ had been rudely assailed by three several antagonists. This little volume, which is throughout in Marvell’s vein, is now extremely scarce, is not included in any edition of his works, and was evidently unknown to any of his biographers.

His last work of any extent was entitled, ‘An Account of the

‘growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England.’ It first appeared in 1678. It is written with much vigour—boldly vindicates the great principles of the constitution—and discusses the limits of the royal prerogative. The gloomy anticipations expressed by the author were but too well justified by the public events which transpired subsequently to his death. But the fatal consequences of the principles and policy he denounced, were happily averted by the Revolution of 1688.

A reward was offered by the Government for the discovery of the author of this ‘libel,’ as it was pleasantly designated. Marvell seems to have taken the matter very coolly, and thus humorously alludes to the subject in a private letter to Mr Ramsden, dated June 10, 1678—‘There came out about Christmas last, here, a large book concerning the growth of Popery and arbitrary government. There have been great rewards offered in private, and considerable in the Gazette, to any one who could inform of the author or printer, but not yet discovered. Three or four printed books since have described, as near as it was proper to go, (the man being a member of Parliament,) Mr Marvell to have been the author; but, if he had, surely he should not have escaped being questioned in Parliament, or some other place.’

Marvell also published, during the latter years of his life, several other political pamphlets, which, though now forgotten, were doubtless not without their influence in unmasking corruption, and rousing the nation to a consciousness of its political degradation. One *jeu d’esprit*—a parody on the speeches of Charles II.—in which the flippancy and easy impudence of those singular specimens of royal eloquence are happily mimicked and scarcely caricatured, is very characteristic of his caustic humour. A few sentences may not displease the reader.

‘I told you at our last meeting, the winter was the fittest time for business, and truly I thought so, till my lord-treasurer assured me the spring was the best season for salads and subsidies. . . . Some of you, perhaps, will think it dangerous to make me too rich; but I do not fear it, for I promise you faithfully, whatever you give me, I will always want; and, although in other things my word may be thought a slender authority, yet in that, you may rely on me, I will never break it. . . . I can bear my straits with patience; but my lord-treasurer does protest to me, that the revenue, as it now stands, will not serve him and me too. One of us must pinch for it, if you do not help me. . . . What shall we do for ships then? I hint this only to you, it being your business, not mine. I know by experience I can live without ships. I lived ten years abroad without, and never had my health better in my life; but how *you* will be without, I will leave to yourselves to judge, and therefore hint this only by-the-bye. I don’t insist upon it.

There is another thing I must press more earnestly, and that is this : it seems a good part of my revenue will expire in two or three years, except you will be pleased to continue it. I have to say for it—pray, why did you give me so much as you have done, unless you resolve to give on as fast as I call for it? The nation hates you already for giving so much, and I will hate you too if you do not give me more. So that, if you do not stick to me you will not have a friend in England. . . . Therefore look to it, and take notice, that if you do not make me rich enough to undo you, it shall lie at your door. For my part I wash my hands on it . . . I have converted my natural sons from Popery. . . . 'Twould do one's heart good to hear how prettily George can read already in the Psalter. They are all fine children, God bless 'em, and so like me in their understandings ! But, as I was saying, I have, to please you, given a pension to your favourite, my Lord Lauderdale, not so much that I thought he wanted it, as that you would take it kindly. . . . I know not, for my part, what factious men would have ; but this I am sure of, my predecessors never did any thing like this, to gain the good-will of their subjects. So much for your religion, and now for your property. . . . I must now acquaint you, that by my lord-treasurer's advice, I have made a considerable retrenchment upon my expenses, in candles and charcoal, and do not intend to stop ; but will, with your help, look into the late embezzlements of my dripping-pans and kitchen-stuff, of which by the way, upon my conscience, neither my lord-treasurer nor my Lord Lauderdale are guilty.*

Marvell's intrepid patriotism and bold writings had now made him so odious to the corrupt court, and especially to the bigoted heir presumptive James, that he was compelled frequently to conceal himself for fear of assassination. He makes an affecting allusion to this in one of his private letters.—‘*Magis occidere,*’ says he, ‘*metuo quam occidi ; non quod vitam tanti æstimem, sed*’ ‘*ne imparatus moriar.*’†

He died August 16, 1678, the very year that his obnoxious work on the growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government appeared ; and, as he was in vigorous health just before, strong suspicions were entertained that he had been poisoned.

In person, according to the description of Aubrey, who knew him well, Marvell ‘was of a middling stature, pretty strong set, roundish-faced, cherry-cheeked, hazel-eyed, brown-haired. In his conversation he was modest, and of very few words. He was wont to say, he would not drink high or freely with any one with whom he could not trust his life.’ Captain Thompson gives a somewhat different account of his complexion and the colour of his eyes ; but, as is too often the case, he does not mention his

* Marvell's *Works*.—Vol. I. p. 428, 429.

† Cooke's *Life of Marvell, prefixed to his Poems*, p. 14.

authority. It seems probable that he has been giving us a description from the impression conveyed by his portraits, of which there are two, without allowing for the effects of time ; so that we have but the picture of a picture.

Of the editions of Marvell's collected works, that of 1726, in two volumes duodecimo, contains only his poems and some of his private letters. That of Captain Thompson, in three volumes quarto, was published in 1776. Yet even this, as already said, omits one treatise. The Captain's diligence is indeed worthy of commendation, and his enthusiasm may be pardoned. But he was far from being a correct or judicious editor ; and is often betrayed by his indiscriminate admiration into excessive and preposterous eulogy. The only separate biography is, we believe, the little volume mentioned at the head of this article.

The characteristic attribute of Marvell's genius was unquestionably wit, in all the varieties of which—brief sententious sarcasm, fierce invective, light raillery, grave irony, and broad laughing humour—he seems to have been by nature almost equally fitted to excel. To say that he *has* equally excelled in all would be untrue, though striking examples of each might easily be selected from his writings. The activity with which his mind suggests ludicrous images and analogies is astonishing ; he often absolutely startles us by the remoteness and oddity of the sources from which they are supplied, and by the unexpected ingenuity and felicity of his repartees.

His *forte*, however, appears to be a grave ironical banter, which he often pursues at such a length that there seems no limit to his fertility of invention. In his endless accumulation of ludicrous images and allusions, the untiring exhaustive ridicule with which he will play upon the same topics, he is unique ; yet this peculiarity not seldom leads him to drain the generous wine even to the dregs—to spoil a series of felicitous railleries by some far-fetched conceit or unpardonable extravagance.

But though Marvell was so great a master of wit, and especially of that caustic species which is appropriate to satirists, we will venture to say that he was singularly free from many of the faults which distinguish that irritable brotherhood. Unsparing and merciless as his ridicule is, contemptuous and ludicrous as are the lights in which he exhibits his opponent ; nay, further, though his invectives are not only often terribly severe, but (in compliance with the spirit of the age) often grossly coarse and personal, it is still impossible to detect a single particle of malignity. His general tone is that of broad laughing banter, or of the most cutting invective ; but he appears equally devoid

of malevolence in both. In the one, he seems amusing himself with opponents too contemptible to move his anger ; in the other, to lay on with the stern imperturbable gravity of one who is performing the unpleasant but necessary functions of a public executioner. This freedom from the usual faults of satirists may be traced to several causes ; partly to the *bonhomie* which, with all his talents for satire, was a peculiar characteristic of the man, and which rendered him as little disposed to take offence, and as placable when it was offered, as any man of his time ; partly to the integrity of his nature, which, while it prompted him to champion any cause in which justice had been outraged or innocence wronged, effectually preserved him from the wanton exercise of his wit for the gratification of malevolence ; partly, perhaps principally, to the fact, that both the above qualities restricted him to encounters in which he had personally no concern. If he carried a keen sword, it was a most peaceable and gentlemanly weapon ; it never left the scabbard except on the highest provocation, and even then, only on behalf of others, His magnanimity, self-control, and good temper, restrained him from avenging any insult offered to himself ;—his chivalrous love of justice instantly roused all the lion within him on behalf of the injured and oppressed. It is perhaps well for Marvell's fame that his quarrels were not personal : had they been so, it is hardly probable that such powers of sarcasm and irony should have been so little associated with bitterness of temper.

This freedom from malignity is highly honourable to him. In too many cases it must be confessed that wit has been sadly dissociated from amiability and generosity. It is true, indeed, that there is no necessary connexion between that quality of mind and the malevolent passions, as numberless illustrious examples sufficiently prove. But where wit is conjoined with malevolence, the latter more effectually displays itself ; and even where there is originally no such conjunction, wit is almost always combined with that constitutional irritability of genius which it so readily gratifies, and which, by gratifying, it transforms into something worse. Half the tendencies of our nature pass into habits only from the facilities which encourage their development. We will venture to say, that there is not a tithe of the quarrels in the world that there used to be when all men were accustomed to wear arms ; and we may rest assured, that many a waspish temper has become so, principally from being in possession of the weapon of satire. Not seldom, too, it must with sorrow be admitted, the most exquisite sense of the ridiculous has been strangely combined with a morbid, gloomy, saturnine temperament, which looks on all things with a jaundiced imagination, and surveys

human infirmities and foibles with feelings not more remote from those of compassionate benevolence than of good-humoured mirth. Happy when, as in the case of Cowper, the influence of a benign heart and unfeigned humility, prevents this tendency from degenerating into universal malevolence. There are few things more shockingly incongruous than the ghastly union of wit and misanthropy. Wit should be ever of open brow, joyous, and frank-hearted. Even the severest satire may be delicious reading, when penned with the *bonhomie* of Horace, or of Addison, or the equanimity of Plato, or of Pascal. Without pretending that Marvell had aught of the elegance or the delicacy of any of these immortal writers, we firmly believe he had as much kindly feeling as any of them. Unhappily the two by no means go together; there may be the utmost refinement without a particle of good-nature; and a great deal of good-nature without any refinement. It were easy to name writers, who with the most exquisite grace of diction can as little disguise the malice of their nature, as Marvell, with all his coarseness, can make us doubt his benevolence. Through the veil of their language (of beautiful texture, but too transparent) we see chagrin poorly simulating mirth; anger struggling to appear contempt, and failing; scorn writhing itself into an aspect of ironical courtesy, but with grim distortion in the attempt; and sarcasms urged by the impulses which, under different circumstances, and in another country, would have prompted to the use of the stiletto.

It is impossible, indeed, not to regret the coarseness, often amounting to buffoonery, of Marvell's wit; though, from the consideration just urged, we regard it with the more forbearance. Other palliations have been adverted to, derived from the character of his adversaries, the haste with which he wrote, and the spirit of the age. The last is the strongest. The tomahawk and the scalping-knife were not yet discreditable weapons, or thrown aside as fit only for savage warfare; and it is even probable, that many of the things which we should regard as gross insults would then pass as pardonable jests. It is difficult for us, of course, to imagine that callousness which scarcely regards any thing as an insult but what is enforced by the *argumentum baculinum*. Between the feelings of our forefathers and our own, there seems to have been as great a difference as between those of the farmer and the clergyman, so ludicrously described by Cowper, in his 'Yearly Distress':—

"O, why are farmers made so coarse,
Or clergy made so fine?
A kick that scarce would move a horse,
May kill a sound divine."

The haste with which Marvell wrote must also be pleaded as an excuse for the inequalities of his works. It was not the age in which authors elaborated and polished with care, or submitted with a good grace to the *limæ labor* ; and if it had been, Marvell allowed himself no leisure for the task. The second part of the 'Rehearsal,' for example, was published in the same year in which Parker's 'Reproof' appeared.—We must profess our belief, that no small portion of his writings stand in great need of this apology. Exhibiting, as they do, amazing vigour and fertility, the wit is by no means always of the first order.

We must not quit the subject of his wit, without presenting the reader with some few of his pleasantries ; premising that they form but a very small part of those which we had marked in the perusal of his works ; and that, whatever their merit, it were easy to find others far superior to them, if we could afford space for long citations.

Ironically bewailing the calamitous effects of printing, our author exclaims—'O Printing ! how hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind ? Lead, when moulded into bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into letters. There was a mistake, sure, in the story of Cadmus ; and the serpents' teeth which he sowed, were nothing else but the letters which he invented.' Parker having declared, in relation to some object of his scurrility, that he had written, 'not to impair his esteem,' but 'to correct his scribbling humour ;' Marvell says—'Our author is as courteous as lightning ; and can melt the sword without ever hurting the scabbard.' After alleging that his opponent often has a byplay of malignity even when bestowing commendations, he remarks—'The author's end was only railing. He could never have induced himself to praise one man but in order to rail on another. He never oils his hone but that he may whet his razor, and that not to shave but to cut men's throats.' On Parker's absurd and bombastic exaggeration of the merits and achievements of Bishop Bramhall, Marvell wittily says—'Any worthy man may pass through the world unquestioned and safe, with a moderate recommendation ; but when he is thus set off and bedaubed with rhetoric, and embroidered so thick that you cannot discern the ground, it awakens naturally (and not altogether unjustly) interest, curiosity, and envy. For all men pretend a share in reputation, and love not to see it engrossed and monopolized ; and are subject to enquire (as of great estates suddenly got) whether he came by all this honestly, or of what credit the person is that tells the story ? And the same hath happened as to this bishop. . . . Men seeing him furbished up in so martial accoutrements, like another Odo, Bishop of Baieux, and having

' never before heard of his prowess, begin to reflect what giants
 ' he defeated, and what damsels he rescued. . . . After all
 ' our author's bombast, when we have searched all over, we find
 ' ourselves bilked in our expectation; and he hath created the
 ' Bishop, like a St Christopher in the Popish churches, as big as
 ' ten porters, and yet only employed to sweat under the burden of
 ' an infant.' Of the paroxysms of rage with which Parker refers
 to one of his adversaries, whom he distinguishes by his initials,
 Marvell says—' As oft as he does but name those two first letters,
 ' he is, like the island of Fayal, on fire in threescore and ten
 ' places;' and affirms, ' that if he were of that fellow's diet here
 ' about town, that epicurizes on burning coals, drinks healths in
 ' scalding brimstone, scratches the glasses for his dessert, and
 ' draws his breath through glowing tobacco-pipes, he could not
 ' show more flame than he always does upon that subject.' Parker, in a passage of unequalled absurdity, having represented
 Geneva as on the south side of the lake Lemman, Marvell ingeniously
 represents the blunder as the subject of discussion in a
 private company, where various droll solutions are proposed, and
 where he, with exquisite irony, pretends to take Parker's part.
 ' I,' says Marvell, ' that was still on the doubtful and excusing
 ' part, said, that to give the right situation of a town, it was
 ' necessary first to know in what position the gentleman's head
 ' then was when he made his observation, and that might
 ' cause a great diversity—as much as this came to.' Having
 charged his adversary with needlessly obtruding upon the world
 some petty matters which concerned only himself, from an
 exaggerated idea of his own importance, Marvell drolly says—
 ' When a man is once possessed with this fanatic kind of spirit,
 ' he imagines if a shoulder do but itch that the world has galled it
 ' with leaning on it so long, and therefore he wisely shrugs to
 ' remove the globe to the other. If he chance but to sneeze, he
 ' salutes himself, and courteously prays that the foundations of the
 ' earth be not shaken. And even so the author of the *Ecclesiastical*
 ' *Polity*, ever since he crept up to be but the weathercock of a
 ' steeple, trembles and creaks at every puff of wind that blows him
 ' about, as if the Church of England were falling, and the state
 ' tottered.' After ludicrously describing the effect of the first
 part of the 'Rehearsal' in exacerbating all his opponent's evil
 passions, he remarks—' He seems not so fit at present for the
 ' archdeacon's seat, as to take his place below in the church
 ' amongst the *energumeni*.' Parker had charged him with a sort
 of plagiarism for having quoted so many passages out of his book.
 On this Marvell observes—' It has, I believe, indeed angered
 ' him, as it has been no small trouble to me; but how can I help

‘it? I wish he would be pleased to teach me an art (for, if any man in the world, he hath it) to answer a book without turning over the leaves, or without citing passages. In the mean time, if to transcribe so much out of him must render a man, as he therefore styles me, a “scandalous plagiarist,” I must plead guilty; but by the same law, whoever shall either be witness or prosecutor in behalf of the King, for treasonable words, may be indicted for a highwayman.’ Parker having viewed some extravaganzas of Marvell’s riotous wit as if worthy of serious comment, the latter says—‘Whereas I only threw it out like an empty cask to amuse him, knowing that I had a whale to deal with, and lest he should overset me;—he runs away with it as a very serious business, and so moyles himself with tumbling and tossing it, that he is in danger of melting his spermaceti. A cork, I see, will serve without a hook; and, instead of a harping-iron, this grave and ponderous creature may, like eels, be taken and pulled up only with bobbing.’ After exposing in a strain of uncommon eloquence the wickedness and folly of suspending the peace of the nation on so frivolous a matter as ‘ceremonial,’ he says—‘For a prince to adventure all upon such a cause, is like Duke Charles of Burgundy, who fought three battles for an imposition upon sheepskins;’ and ‘for a clergyman to offer at persecution upon this ceremonial account, is (as is related of one of the Popes) to justify his indignation for his peacock, by the example of God’s anger for eating the forbidden fruit.’ He justifies his severity towards Parker in a very ludicrous way—‘No man needs letters of marque against one that is an open pirate of other men’s credit. I remember within our own time one Simons, who robbed always on the bricollé—that is to say, never interrupted the *passengers*, but still set upon the *thieves themselves*, after, like Sir John Falstaff, they were gorged with a booty; and by this way—so ingenious that it was scarce criminal—he lived secure and unmolested all his days, with the reputation of a judge rather than of a highwayman.’ The sentences we have cited are all taken from the ‘Rehearsal.’ We had marked many more from his ‘Divine in Mode,’ and other writings, but have no space for them.

But he who supposes Marvell to have been nothing but a wit, simply on account of the predominance of that quality, will do him injustice. It is the common lot of such men, in whom some one faculty is found on a great scale, to fail of part of the admiration due to other endowments; possessed in more moderate degree, indeed, but still in a degree far from ordinary. We are subject to the same illusion in gazing on mountain scenery. Fixing our eye on some solitary peak, which towers far above

the rest, the groups of surrounding hills look positively diminutive, though they may, in fact, be all of great magnitude.

This illusion is further fostered by another circumstance in the case of great wits. As the object of wit is to amuse, the owl-like gravity of thousands of common readers, would decide that wit and wisdom must dwell apart, and that the humorous writer must necessarily be a trifling one. For similar reasons, they look with sage suspicion on every signal display, either of fancy or passion; think a splendid illustration nothing but the ambuscade of a fallacy, and strong emotion as tantamount to a confession of unsound judgment. As Archbishop Whately has well remarked, such men having been warned that 'ridicule is not the test of truth,' and that 'wisdom and wit are not the same thing, distrust every thing that can possibly be regarded as witty; not having judgment to perceive the combination, when it occurs, of wit and sound reasoning. The ivy wreath completely conceals from their view the point of the *thyrsus*.'

The fact is, that all Marvell's endowments were on a large scale, though his wit greatly predominated. His judgment was remarkably clear and sound, his logic by no means contemptible, his sagacity in practical matters great, his talents for business apparently of the first order, and his industry indefatigable. His imagination, though principally employed in ministering to his wit, would, if sufficiently cultivated, have made him a poet considerably above mediocrity: though chiefly alive to the ludicrous, he was by no means insensible to the beautiful. We cannot, indeed, bestow all the praise on his Poems which some of his critics have assigned them. They are very plentifully disfigured by the conceits and quaintnesses of the age, and as frequently want grace of expression and harmony of numbers. Of the compositions which Captain Thompson's indiscriminate admiration would fain have affiliated to his Muse, the two best are proved—one not to be his, and the other of doubtful origin. The former, beginning—

'When Israel, freed from Pharaoh's hand,'

is a well-known composition of Dr Watts; the other, the ballad of 'William and Margaret,' is of dubious authorship. Though probably of earlier date than the age of Mallet, its reputed author—the reasons which Captain Thompson gives for assigning it to Marvell, are altogether unsatisfactory. Still, there are unquestionably many of his genuine poems which indicate a rich, though ill-cultivated fancy; and in some few stanzas there is no little grace of expression. The little piece on the Pilgrim Fathers, entitled the 'Emigrants,' the fanciful 'Dialogue between Body and Soul,' the 'Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and

‘Created Pleasure,’ and the ‘Coronet,’ all contain lines of much elegance and sweetness. It is in his satirical poems, that, as might be expected from the character of his mind, his fancy appears most vigorous; though these are largely disfigured by the characteristic defects of the age, and many, it must be confessed, are entirely without merit. With two or three lines from his ludicrous satire on Holland, we cannot refrain from amusing the reader. Some of the strokes of humour are irresistibly ridiculous:

‘Holland, that scarce deserves the name of land,
As but the off-scouring of the British sand;
And so much earth as was contributed
By English pilots when they heav’d the lead;
Or what by th’ ocean’s slow alluvion fell,
Of shipwreck’d cockle and the muscle-shell;
This indigested vomit of the sea
Fell to the Dutch by just propriety.
Glad then, as miners who have found the ore,
They, with mad labour fish’d the land to shore;
And dived as desperately for each piece
Of earth, as if it had been of ambergris;
Collecting anxiously small loads of clay,
Less than what building swallows bear away;
For as with pigmies, who best kills the crane,
Among the hungry he that treasures grain,
Among the blind the one-eyed blinkard reigns,
So rules among the drowned he that drains.
Not who first see the rising sun commands:
But who could first discern the rising lands.
Who best could know to pump an earth so leak,
Him they their lord, and country’s father, speak.’

His Latin poems are amongst his best. The composition often shows no contemptible skill in that language; and here and there the diction and versification are such as would not have absolutely disgraced his great coadjutor, Milton. In all the higher poetic qualities, there can of course be no comparison between them.

With such a mind as we have ascribed to him—and we think his works fully justify what we have said—with such aptitudes for business, soundness of judgment, powers of reasoning, and readiness of sarcasm, one might have anticipated that he would have taken some rank as an orator. Nature, it is certain, had bestowed upon him some of the most important intellectual endowments of one. It is true, indeed, that with his principles and opinions he would have found himself strangely embarrassed in addressing any parliament in the days of Charles II., and stood

but a moderate chance of obtaining a candid hearing. But we have no proof that he ever made the trial. His parliamentary career in this respect resembled that of a much greater man—Addison, who, with wit even superior to his own, and with much more elegance, if not more strength of mind, failed signally as a speaker.

Marvell's learning must have been very extensive. His education was superior; and, as we have seen from the testimony of Milton, his industry had made him master, during his long sojourn on the Continent, of several continental languages. It is certain also, that he continued to be a student all his days: his works bear ample evidence of his wide and miscellaneous reading. He appears to have been well versed in most branches of literature, though he makes no pedantic display of erudition, and in this respect is favourably distinguished from many of his contemporaries; yet he cites his authors with the familiarity of a thorough scholar. In the department of history he appears to have been particularly well read; and derives his witty illustrations from such remote and obscure sources, that Parker did not hesitate to avow his belief that he had sometimes drawn on his invention for them. In his Reply, Marvell justifies himself in all the alleged instances, and takes occasion to show that his opponent's learning is as hollow as all his other pretensions.

The style of Marvell is very unequal. Though often rude and unpolished, it abounds in negligent felicities, presents us with frequent specimens of vigorous idiomatic English, and now and then attains no mean degree of elegance. It bears the stamp of the revolution which was then passing on the language; it is a medium between the involved and periodic structure so common during the former half of the century, and which is ill adapted to a language possessing so few inflections as ours, and that simplicity and harmony which were not fully attained till the age of Addison. There is a very large infusion of short sentences, and the structure in general is as unlike that of his great colleague's prose as can be imagined. Many of Marvell's pages flow with so much ease and grace, as to be not unworthy of a later period. To that great revolution in style to which we have just alluded, he must in no slight degree have contributed; for, little as his works are known or read now, the most noted of them were once universally popular, and perused with pleasure, as Burnet testifies, by every body, 'from the king to the tradesman.'

Numerous examples show, that it is almost impossible for even the rarest talents to confer permanent popularity on books which turn on topics of temporary interest, however absorbing at the time. If Pascal's transcendent genius has been unable to rescue

even the *Lettres Provinciales* from partial oblivion, it is not to be expected that Marvell should have done more for the *Rehearsal Transposed*. Swift, it is true, about half a century later, has been pleased, while expressing this opinion, to make an exception in favour of Marvell. 'There is indeed,' says he, 'an exception, when any great genius thinks it worth his while to expose a foolish piece; so we still read Marvell's answer to Parker with pleasure, though the book it answers be sunk long ago.' But this statement is scarcely applicable now. It is true that the 'Rehearsal' is occasionally read by the curious; but it is by the resolutely curious alone.

Yet assuredly he has not lived in vain who has successfully endeavoured to abate the nuisances of his own time, or to put down some insolent abettor of vice and corruption. Nor is it possible in a world like this, in which there is such continuity of causes and effects—where one generation transmits its good and its evil to the next, and the consequences of each revolution in principles, opinions, or tastes, are propagated along the whole line of humanity—to estimate either the degree or perpetuity of the benefits conferred by the complete success of works even of transient interest. By modifying the age in which he lives, a man may indirectly modify the character of many generations to come. His works may be forgotten while their effects survive.

Marvell's history affords a signal instance of the benefits which may be derived from well-directed satire. There are cases in which it may be a valuable auxiliary to decency, virtue, and religion, where argument and persuasion both fail. Many, indeed, doubt both the legitimacy of the weapon itself, and the success with which it can be employed. But facts are against them. To hope that it can ever supply the place of religion as a radical cure for vice or immorality, would be chimerical; but there are many pernicious customs, violations of propriety, ridiculous, yet tolerated, follies, which religion can scarcely touch without endangering her dignity. To assail them is one of the most legitimate offices of satire; nor have we the slightest doubt that the 'Spectator' did more to abate many of the prevailing follies and pernicious customs of the age, than a thousand homilies. This, however, may be admitted, and yet it may be said that it does not reach the case of Marvell and Parker. Society, it may be argued, will bear the exposure of its own evils with great equanimity, and perhaps profit by it—no individual being pointed at, and each being left to digest his own lesson, under the pleasant conviction that it was designed principally for his neighbours. As corporations will perpetrate actions of which each in-

dividual member would be ashamed ; so corporations will listen to charges which every individual member would regard as insults. But no man, it is said, is likely to be reclaimed from error or vice by being made the object of merciless ridicule. All this we believe most true. But then it is not to be forgotten, that it may not be the satirist's object to reclaim the individual—he may have little hope of that ; it may be for the sake of those whom he maligns and injures. When the exorcist takes Satan in hand, it is not because he is an Origenist, and ‘believes in the ‘conversion of the devil,’ but in pity to the supposed victims of his malignity. It is much the same when a man like Marvell undertakes to satirize a man like Parker. Even such a man may be abashed and confounded, though he cannot be reclaimed ; and if so, the satirist gains his object, and society gets the benefit. Experience fully shows us that there are many men who will be restrained by ridicule long after they are lost to virtue, and that they are accessible to shame when they are utterly inaccessible to argument.

This was just the good that Marvell effected. He made Parker, it is true, more furious ; but he diverted, if he could not turn the tide of popular feeling, and thus prevented mischief. Parker, and others like him, were doing all they could to inflame angry passions, to revive the most extravagant pretensions of tyranny, and to preach up another crusade against the Nonconformists. Marvell's books were a conductor to the dangerous fluid ; if there was any explosion at all, it was an explosion of merriment. ‘He had all the laughers on his side,’ says Burnet. In Charles II.'s reign, there were few who belonged to any other class ; and then, as now, men found it impossible to laugh and be angry at the same time. It is our firm belief, that Marvell did more to humble Parker, and neutralize the influence of his party, by the ‘Rehearsal Transposed,’ than he could have done by writing half a dozen folios of polemical divinity ; just as Pascal did more to unmask the Jesuits and damage their cause by his ‘Provincial Letters,’ than had been effected by all the efforts of all their other opponents put together.

But admirable as were Marvell's intellectual endowments, it is his moral worth, after all, which constitutes his principal claim on the admiration of posterity, and which sheds a redeeming lustre on one of the darkest pages of the English annals. Inflexible integrity was the basis of it—integrity by which he has not unworthily earned the glorious name of the ‘British Aristides.’ With talents and acquirements which might have justified him in aspiring to almost any office, if he could have disburdened himself of his conscience ; with wit which, in

that frivolous age, was a surer passport to fame than any amount either of intellect or virtue, and which, as we have seen, mollified even the monarch himself in spite of his prejudices; Marvell preferred poverty and independence to riches and servility. He had learned the lesson, practised by few in that age, of being content with little—so that he preserved his conscience. He could be poor, but he could not be mean; could starve, but could not cringe. By economizing in the articles of pride and ambition, he could afford to keep what their votaries were compelled to retrench, the necessities, or rather the luxuries, of integrity and a good conscience. Neither menaces, nor caresses, nor bribes, nor poverty, nor distress, could induce him to abandon his integrity; or even to take an office in which it might be tempted or endangered. He only who has arrived at this pitch of magnanimity, has an adequate security for his public virtue. He who cannot subsist upon a little; who has not learned to be content with such things as he has, and even to be content with almost nothing; who has not learned to familiarize his thoughts to poverty, much more readily than he can familiarize them to dishonour, is not yet free from peril. Andrew Marvell, as his whole course proves, had done this. But we shall not do full justice to his public integrity, if we do not bear in mind the corruption of the age in which he lived; the manifold apostasies amidst which he retained his conscience; and the effect which such wide-spread profligacy must have had in making thousands almost sceptical as to whether there were such a thing as public virtue at all. Such a relaxation in the code of speculative morals, is one of the worst results of general profligacy in practice. But Andrew Marvell was not to be deluded; and amidst corruption perfectly unparalleled, he still continued untainted. We are accustomed to hear of his virtue as a truly Roman virtue, and so it was; but it was something more. Only the best pages of Roman history can supply a parallel: there was no Cincinnatus in those ages of her shame which alone can be compared with those of Charles II. It were easier to find a Cincinnatus during the era of the English Commonwealth, than an Andrew Marvell in the age of Commodus.

The integrity and patriotism which distinguished him in his relations to the Court, also marked all his public conduct. He was evidently most scrupulously honest and faithful in the discharge of his duty to his constituents; and, as we have seen, almost punctilious in guarding against any thing which could tarnish his fair fame, or defile his conscience. On reviewing the whole of his public conduct, we may well say that

he attained his wish, expressed in the lines which he has written in imitation of a chorus in the *Thyestes* of Seneca :—

‘Climb at *court* for me that will—
Tottering favour’s pinnacle ;
All I seek is to lie still.
Settled in some secret nest,
In calm leisure let me rest,
And far off the public stage,
Pass away my silent age.
Thus, when without noise, unknown,
I have lived out all my span,
I shall die without a groan,
An old honest countryman.’

He seems to have been as amiable in his private as he was estimable in his public character. So far as any documents throw light upon the subject, the same integrity appears to have belonged to both. He is described as of a very reserved and quiet temper; but, like Addison, (whom in this respect as in some few others he resembled,) exceedingly facetious and lively amongst his intimate friends. His disinterested championship of others, is no less a proof of his sympathy with the oppressed than of his abhorrence of oppression; and many pleasing traits of amiability occur in his private correspondence, as well as in his writings. On the whole, we think that Marvell’s epitaph, strong as the terms of panegyric are, records little more than the truth; and that it was not in the vain spirit of boasting, but in the honest consciousness of virtue and integrity, that he himself concludes a letter to one of his correspondents in the words—

‘Disce, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem;
Fortunam ex aliis.’

ART. IV.—1. *Commercial Tariffs and Regulations of the several states of Europe and America, together with the Commercial Treaties between England and foreign Countries.* Parts I. to XI. Presented to Parliament by command of her Majesty, 1842,—1843.

2. *Report on the Prussian Commercial Union.* By JOHN BOWRING. Presented to Parliament by command of her Majesty. 1840.

3. *Copies and Extracts of Despatches from her Majesty's Ministers abroad, having reference to the recent Modifications of the Tariff of the German Customs-Union.* Presented to the House of Commons by the Queen's command, February 1843.

4. *Das Zollvereinsblatt, redigirt von Dr FRIEDERICH LIST.* (The Customs-Union Newspaper, edited by Dr FREDERICK LIST.) 1843.

THERE can be no doubt that the surest way of promoting the establishment of sound principles in our commercial and financial legislation, is to diffuse correct information upon the subject as widely as possible. It is therefore with great satisfaction that we notice the publication, by authority, of a work of so much practical utility as that first mentioned at the head of this article. The eleven parts, already published, contain, we believe, the best accounts extant of the commercial relations of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Turkey, Greece, the African States, and Russia. We trust to see the entire series of these valuable compilations successfully completed. The Government is understood to have undertaken the expense of printing them, and the responsibility of presenting them officially to Parliament. But it is to Mr Macgregor, the well-informed Secretary of the Board of Trade, that the public is indebted for the care and labour of the work, and for the revision of its multifarious details. It is due to this gentleman to acknowledge not only the zeal which has induced him to undertake so onerous a charge in addition to the ordinary business of his office, but the liberality with which he has himself defrayed the cost of procuring a large portion of the materials necessary to the publication.

There is not one of these Tariffs which does not furnish instructive lessons, showing how much national prosperity is dependent upon a sound and liberal system of commercial policy.

The Tariffs of most countries are, indeed, so many specimens of vicious taxation, teaching governments by their results

‘—the lesson taught so long,

So oft, so wisely,—learn to do no wrong!’

We do not, however, intend, on the present occasion, to enter into any detailed examination of the contents of the series, being of opinion that a general judgment in this respect would be pronounced more fitly after its entire completion. Our present remarks will be confined to the subject of the fifth part,—a subject which has a separate and peculiar interest,—namely, the Tariffs and Regulations of the German Customs-Union, and of the other German States; upon which we have a less recent dissertation in the elaborate official report made five years since to Lord Palmerston by Dr Bowring. The *Zollverein* is an association whose proceedings have long been watched with anxiety by the manufacturing interests of this country, and naturally so, on account of the magnitude and importance of our trade with Germany. There is, however, much misapprehension abroad, both as to the objects and the effects of this association, and we are therefore glad of an opportunity of stating some facts, by which we hope to lead the enquirer to a more just view of its character than he will be likely to find in the columns of the periodical press, devoted to class interests, on either side of the German ocean.

The commercial policy of Germany very materially concerns Great Britain as an exporting country. For some years past the Germans have been our best customers. They have taken a larger proportion of the entire exports of British produce and manufactures than any other nation. The declared value of our produce and manufactures exported to all countries, upon an average of the five years ending with 1841, was L.49,681,269.* Of this amount we find, L.5,450,278, exported to Germany, (including Prussia) direct; and L.4,376,280 to Holland and Belgium, of which it is known that a very considerable part were in transit for German consumption. Taking this at no more than one half, we have an annual export to Germany (exclusive of Austrian ports) of the value of above seven millions and a half sterling, or more than one-sixth of the whole amount exported. This is equal to one-half of the value of the entire exports to the British colonies—it exceeds our exports to the United States of America, during the same period, by very nearly a million.

* Official Tables, presented to Parliament, 1843.

The United States were at one time our best market, but we regret to find, that the British exports to that quarter, which on an average of the five years ending with 1836, had amounted to L.8,575,404, had fallen to L.6,700,370, on the average of the five years ending with 1841. Whereas, on a comparison of the same periods, our German exports had risen from the average of L.6,524,694, to that of L.7,638,418, as already stated.

The importance to British interests of retaining the command of so valuable a market is self-evident. We may well rejoice that it has been so long preserved to us. In every point of view, whether politically or commercially, we can have no better alliance than that of the great German nation, spreading, as it does, its forty-two millions of souls, without interruption, over the surface of central Europe.* Nor is it an unnatural sentiment for Englishmen to entertain towards Germany feelings of the same kind, as the better class of Americans uniformly cherish for England, —namely, those of reverence for the land of our forefathers, and of sympathy with that Teutonic race of which we are ourselves a continuing branch. Whenever the Continent shall be cursed with another war, the weight of the Germanic body will probably be sufficient to turn any doubtful balance, at its option, in favour of the East or the West of Europe. We think it clear that English feeling and English policy ought to move alike in the direction of maintaining and strengthening our connexion of friendship and alliance with the states of Germany.

That these sentiments are in accordance with those which many enlightened minds in Germany entertain towards England, we are well assured. We wish we were as well satisfied with the spirit and tone of the *Zollvereinsblatt*, and of certain correspondents of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. We regret that the talents of these writers have not been engaged in a more worthy cause. It is easy for men of boldness and ability to place themselves in the front of a popular movement, by an unscrupulous derision of principles which militate, or are believed to militate, against the views of their self-interested supporters. Dr List, with whose doctrines we have, on a former occasion, made our readers acquainted, accordingly pursues his career, with a supreme contempt for those great economical writers who have successfully diffused scientific truth. His tone is—

‘ Tell arts they have no soundness,
And vary by esteeming;
Tell schools they want profoundness,
And stand too much on seeming;
If arts and schools reply,
Give arts and schools the lie!’

The *Zollvereinsblatt*, conducted by him, has acquired a large

circulation, and his *National System of Political Economy* keeps up its reputation among those who either do not, or will not know, that the so-called system is utterly at variance with all sound political economy; and that the name of *National* is used as a cloak for the selfish claims of class interests. Our space need not be occupied by reiterating the refutations that have appeared of this shallow system.* We proceed at once to the objects and progress of the *Zollverein*.

The German Customs-Union (*Deutsche Zollverein*) is an association of states, having for its declared object to secure freedom of trade and commerce between the contracting states, and a common interest in the customs revenue. The terms of the union are expressed in the treaty between Prussia and the other states, dated 22d March 1833, which may be regarded as the basis of the association.

The states now forming the union are Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, the Thuringian states, Frankfort, Brunswick, Lippe-Schaumburg, and Luxemburg. The population of these, with the exception of the three last-mentioned states, was, in 1839,—26,858,886.† Including these three states, which have since joined the union, the present population cannot be less than twenty-seven millions and a half. The German powers which have not joined the union are Austria, with twelve millions of German subjects, and Hanover, Oldenburg, Holstein, the two Mecklenburgs, and the Hanse Towns, whose united population is about three millions more. The inhabitants of Germany are therefore divided in the proportions of twenty-seven and a half within, to fifteen without, the sphere of the *Zollverein*.

The treaty provides, in the thirty-eighth article, for the admission of other German states, and the thirty-ninth article for the making of treaties with foreign states, but these latter are not admissible into the union. ‘There is a general misunderstanding ‘abroad,’ says Dr Bowring, ‘as to the necessary conditions for ‘forming a part of the commercial confederation; and countries ‘have been spoken of, such as Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, ‘and even France, as being disposed to form a part of this great ‘league, and being engaged in negotiations for this purpose. ‘But by its fundamental organization no states but those of ‘Germany can be admitted into the league.’ Therefore it is

* See this Journal, No. CLII. Art. 8; Dr Rau's *Kritik über F. List's Nationales System der Politischen Oekonomie*; Heidelberg, 1843;—and several able papers on the same subject by Dr Brüggemann of Berlin.

† Dieterici, *Statistische Uebersicht*, 1842.

in his capacity of Grand Duke of Luxemburg only that the King of the Netherlands is a member of the union ; and in the same way the King of Denmark could only join it as Duke of Holstein, and not in respect of his Danish dominions.

The *declared* principle of the league—namely, the commercial and financial union of the German states—is not only one to which no foreign power has any right to object, but is excellent in itself ; and is, in fact, the establishment of free trade among the associated states. The numerous custom-houses which impeded the internal traffic of Germany have been abolished ; an enormous expense previously incurred in the prevention of smuggling has been saved ; and smuggling itself, with all its immoral consequences, has, so far, been put a stop to. The traveller passes without interruption from the frontiers of France to those of Russia ; from Switzerland to the North Sea. The free interchange of commodities promotes, as a natural consequence, the improvement of communications, the interchange of ideas, and the diffusion of knowledge. The roads are amended, railways are constructed, the rivers are opened to steam navigation. No one can deny that the *Zollverein* has thus removed many impediments in the way of general civilization and comfort, and has, in so far, been highly beneficial to the German people.

But it is not merely to its *avowed* principle that the league owes its successful accomplishment. There are other motives which have entered largely into the causes of its existence. In the first place, it has given practical effect to that vehement desire for national unity which so generally pervades the German mind. It is in entire accordance with true German feeling, which aspires, beyond all things, at making the ‘fatherland’ an undivided nation. Then, it so happened that this general desire for union fell in exactly with the policy of Prussia—a power which has not failed to seize so favourable an opportunity of extending her political influence, and occupying a position which, though of nominal equality, has in reality secured her predominance among the German states. To these inducements we regret to be obliged to add another—namely, the prevalent opinion in Germany that their manufacturing industry ought to be protected against foreign competition, and that the tariff of the *Zollverein* ought to be used as an instrument for the exclusion of foreign manufactures from the German market.

The necessity of union against foreign aggression was a lesson which France could hardly have failed to impress upon the Germans during the last war. Fatal experience had taught

alike governments and people, that the future safety of Germany, and its preservation from a recurrence of those calamitous devastations which the war had brought upon it, depended upon the various states being bound by the ties of mutual interest. Although the congress of Vienna had established a new Germanic confederation, (*Deutsche Bund*) and a federative diet charged with the maintenance of peace at home and abroad, yet it was soon perceived and felt that the kind of union obtained by means of this confederation was more formal than real. The German empire, with all its venerable laws and privileges, had been destroyed; the charm of ancient institutions was broken; men did not transfer to the assembly of delegates at Frankfort that reverence which they had been accustomed to pay to the successor of the Cæsars, and to the electors of the empire. The late King of Prussia was one of the first to perceive, that, in order to unite Germany in reality, something more cogent than the federative diet was indispensable. He found his own power rather weakened than strengthened by the addition of the Rhenish provinces, so long as they remained separated, not only by distance, but by the customs-barriers of intervening states, from his ancient territories. He accordingly effected, in 1829, a convention with those states, by which he became the farmer of their customs-revenues, and so removed the barriers between Eastern and Western Prussia. Some years, however, previous to this, the Prussian Government had deemed it expedient to comply with the demands of the manufacturers (especially those in the Rhenish provinces) for protection against foreign goods, which, since the peace, had begun to make their appearance; and on the 26th May 1818, a new Prussian Tariff had been issued, which was designed to afford a moderate protection to the home industry, and which may be regarded as the groundwork of the present Tariff of the *Zollverein*.

The professed intention of this Tariff of 1818 was to establish ten per cent as the maximum of protection; and this was officially notified by the Prussian Government to that of Great Britain in the year 1825. Accordingly, Mr Huskisson stated to the House of Commons, on the 7th May 1827, that the Prussian duties on the internal consumption of British goods were very low—fluctuating from 5 to 10 per cent, and upon no article exceeding 15 per cent. It turned out, however, that the degree of protection afforded by this Tariff, ranged in fact from 20 to more than 100 per cent upon the value, and although it was improved in some particulars by another Tariff issued in 1822, yet the protecting duties were not thereby materially reduced.

But the proceedings of Prussia were considered in a hostile light by the manufacturers of the South. They formed a coun-

teracting association in 1819, which numbered from five to six thousand members, had its headquarters in Nuremberg, and agents in all the principal towns, and published a weekly newspaper devoted to the cause. * They addressed the Diet, the German courts, and the Congress at Vienna in 1820, in favour of a general customs-union. They so far succeeded that, in 1826, the small Thuringian States, occupying the central portion of Germany, with one or two others, formed themselves into a customs-union, under the name of the *Mittel-Verein*; and within the two succeeding years a more important union was accomplished, consisting of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, with their small enclosed states; the Tariff of which union is stated so have been as high, or very nearly so, as that of Prussia. Thus Germany contained three separate customs-associations, with separate Tariffs, and it became obviously desirable to unite these conflicting interests. Prussia made overtures to the other unions, but was for a long time unsuccessful; they objecting principally to the high scale of Prussian duties on colonial produce. At last, however, all obstacles were removed, (principally, as Dr List states, through the exertions of Baron von Cotta, the eminent publisher, and proprietor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*,) and on the 22d March 1833, the treaty was signed by which, for the first time, Germany was knit together in any thing like a binding national confederation. Between that date and the present, the league has been enlarged by the accession of other states; but, as we have already mentioned, Hanover and some other northern states have hitherto refused to join it. Hanover formed a distinct union with three neighbouring states, viz., Brunswick, Lippe-Schaumburg, and Oldenburg, which assumed the title of the North-western League; but the two former having subsequently seceded from it and joined the *Zollverein*, the North-western League has been reduced to Hanover and Oldenburg only. The Hanse towns, Mecklenburg, and Holstein, are not yet members of any customs-union.

The revenues of the *Zollverein* are divided among the contracting states according to the population of each state respectively. But no community is allowed any in respect of the charges of management, and of collecting the duties. Consequently, as a general rule, each state defrays the expense of its own customs-establishments. This is a great advantage to those territories which, from

* See Dr List's *National System*, &c., Book I., chapter vii.

their geographical position, have no customs-frontier, and consequently no custom-houses or guards to maintain. All the states, except Prussia, receive a larger amount of revenue than formerly, with a diminished expense of collection. But Prussia, on account of her extensive frontier, sacrifices annually a large amount of money for the benefit of other states, receiving no more than the ordinary proportion of revenue, of which her share amounts to about fifty-four per cent. The moderation of Prussia has been conspicuous not only in this sacrifice, but in contenting herself with one vote only in the congress of delegates, like each of the smaller states. She has, however, compensated herself for these sacrifices by the addition which she has undoubtedly made to her political power.

Having thus traced the outline of the history of the *Zollverein*, we come to the point which most concerns Great Britain as a manufacturing nation, viz., the Tariff of duties which it enforces. By some this has been supposed to be framed in direct hostility to British interests, and that in combination with other foreign powers; by others it has been described as a movement in the direction of free trade, being far more liberal than the older Prussian Tariffs. We shall show that the rates of duty upon the leading articles of British export to Germany are very much higher than the British Government was led to suppose they would be; and further, that there is reason to believe that those rates will rather be increased than diminished. We do not wish to be alarmists; on the contrary, we refer with gratification to the fact that, in spite of all obstacles, British exports to Germany have for some years past been, upon the whole, on the increase. But, if the manufacturing power of Germany is increasing still more rapidly, and the tendency of the *Zollverein* is aiming more and more at the entire occupation of the home market, without regard to its foreign commerce, we do not see very well how, under circumstances so unfavourable, our trade with Germany can be permanently maintained, to its present, or to any considerable extent. No doubt, Germany herself will be the greatest sufferer by continuing to pursue the protective system; every manufacture which she carries on, by means of the prohibition of British manufactures, is in fact a prohibition of an equivalent amount of her own productions. In injuring herself, however, she must also inflict no small damage upon us; unless, indeed, the smuggler should prove too powerful for the statesman, as we have seen happen on other occasions.

The *Zollverein* Tariff classes its import duties under forty-three different heads. They are levied by weight,—generally by the

centner, or cwt.* Raw produce, including the raw materials used in manufactures, are for the most part admitted free. The principle of collecting the duty by weight is simple, and prevents fraud or mistake in the ascertainment of value; but it is open to the objection of falling too heavily upon the coarser and cheaper, in comparison with the finer and more costly, kinds of goods. This mode of levying the duty upon manufactured goods constitutes in fact one of the main objections to the Tariff. 'The rates of duty,' says Mr Macgregor, 'are certainly not to be defended: they are unjust, as not bearing a relative proportion to the value of the articles upon which the duties are imposed. They levy the same duties on 100 lbs. of coarse unbleached calicoes, as upon the same weight of the finest sheetings and cambrics; and on 100 lbs. of the coarsest woollen flannels and blankets, as on an equal weight of the finest kerseymeres and broad cloths; the duties on woven goods, instead of being, as promulgated publicly, at from 10 to 15 per cent on the value, range from 10 to 95 per cent on the value.' It thus appears that the mode of charging the duty by weight, has enabled the Zollverein to advance very greatly upon the originally declared maximum of ten per cent—so much so as to increase that rate tenfold upon the cheaper kinds of manufactured stuffs. Dr Bowring reports that 'the commercial league itself professed to make the Prussian tariff the basis of the legislation of the union; and the maximum intended to be established by the Prussian tariff was an *ad valorem* 10 per cent on manufactures; for that tariff provides that "*the duty on consumption of foreign fabrics and manufactured goods shall not exceed 10 per cent, and shall be less wherever a smaller duty can be imposed without injury to the national industry.*" But the duties levied—being, on cotton manufactures, L.7, 10s. per cwt.; on woollens, L.4, 10s.; on hardware, L.8, 5s.; on common linens, L.1, 13s.; on fine linens, L.3, 6s.; and on silks, L.16, 10s. per cwt., do, on the whole, greatly exceed the proposed ten per cent. The system of imposing the duty by weight has the advantage of great simplicity, but it acts in complete hostility to the *ad valorem* principle,—as the duty increases, instead of diminishing, with the lowness and coarseness of the article; so that the operation of the tariff is as complete an exclusion of every low-priced manufacture, as if it were absolutely prohibited. Under the influence of this state of things, the duty on cotton goods varies from 3½ to 120 per cent.† We think the British Government fully justified in

* Equal to 100½ lbs., or 113½ lbs. English.
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† Report, p. 12.
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complaining of the exclusion of British manufactures by the operation of the Tariff in the manner described. For it is clear that the *Zollverein* did publicly adopt the previously existing Prussian Tariff as the basis of the Union Tariff of 1833, and the Prussian government had formally pledged itself to a maximum of 10, or at the utmost 15, per cent. On the 25th December 1825, Baron Maltzahn, then the Prussian minister in London, wrote thus to Mr Canning respecting the Tariff;—‘The principal object of the duties of import levied on foreign produce is the increase of the revenues of the state; and it is with reference to this consideration that they have been specified. It follows from hence that no one of these duties is sufficiently high to prevent the importation of foreign produce, as is proved by the very extensive sale which it has in all parts of the monarchy. *The duties levied on the productions of foreign make or manufacture are generally only 10 per cent ad valorem; some amount to 15 per cent; there are some which are more moderate.*’* We are not aware upon what ground the Prussian Government may have attempted to explain the inconsistency which is so very apparent in this proceeding; but as it stands before us, it is plain that Baron Maltzahn either misapprehended or misrepresented the character of a Tariff upon which he was founding a claim for reciprocity from the Government of Britain.

The most important branches of our export trade to Germany are, beyond all comparison, our cotton and woollen manufactures. Their united value constitutes no less than nine-elevenths of the value of the entire exports. For example, in the year 1841, the total declared value of British produce and manufactures exported to Germany direct, inclusive of Prussia, but exclusive of what passed through Holland and Belgium, was, according to the official tables, . . . L.6,017,854

From this we separate the declared value of the manufactures of plain and printed cottons, hosiery, and small wares,	L.1,129,944
Do. of cotton twist and yarn,	2,406,936
Do. of woollen manufactures, including yarn,	884,541
	<hr/>
Total, L.4,421,421	

That the rates of duty on these two staple articles should be

* Communications relative to the commercial relations between Great Britain and Prussia, presented to the House of Commons, July 1839.

moderate, is therefore of paramount consequence to British interests. We will state what they are.

Articles.	Zollverein Duty per centner.
Cotton manufactures of all kinds,	L.7 10 0
Cotton twist unbleached,	0 6 0
Ditto, bleached, or dyed,	0 18 0
Woollen manufactures in general,	4 10 0
Do. carpets,	3 0 0
Do. yarn, three or more fold twisted,	1 4 0
Do. do. single and double,	0 1 6

The duty upon cotton manufactures is not only unequal, but upon the whole unreasonably high. According to an estimate cited by Dr Bowring, this duty, when calculated *ad valorem* upon jaccots, cambrics, prints, velveteens, velvets, nankeens, beaver-teens, shirtings, printers, and domestics, ranges from $38\frac{1}{2}$ to 118 per cent.* By another authoritative estimate it appears, that the duty on coarse shirting, worth 4d. per yard, is equivalent to 90 per cent,—upon superior shirting, worth 1s. per yard, $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent,—upon printed cottons, worth 1s. 6d. per yard, $15\frac{3}{4}$ per cent; and upon fine printed cottons, worth 2s. 6d. per yard, $8\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.† Making all due allowances for differences of calculation, it still remains clear, that the *Zollverein* duty is prohibitory upon the coarser and cheaper kinds of British cotton manufactures. They have in fact ceased to be used in Germany, and when they appear at the fairs of Leipsic, or Frankfort, it is only in transit for exportation. The manufacture of cotton goods has advanced very rapidly both in Saxony and Prussia, and it is rising in Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and Baden. The cheapness of the necessaries of life—the moderate wages of labour—the economical habits of the people—the general diffusion of education—and the increasing facilities of communication—which have been the gradual though almost insensible results of twenty-eight years of peace,—are so many causes which would have promoted the success of German industry without any artificial protection. The mistake, which Mr Gladstone's act of last session has at length corrected, of prohibiting the export of machinery from Great Britain, has for many years been the means of supplying continental establishments with British skill and capital for its fabrication, whilst we deprived ourselves of the advantage of supplying it to them. But when, to these favourable circum-

* Report, Appendix 30.

† Communication of a mercantile house, quoted in the supplement to Mr McCulloch's most valuable Commercial Dictionary.

stances has been added the exclusion of foreign competition, we cannot wonder that Germany should not only have been able to supply her home market, but should have become a considerable exporter of manufactured cottons. Accordingly we find that, upon an average of the three years 1837-8-9, the *Zollverein* states imported only 16,174 centners of such goods, whilst they exported 87,987 centners, making the excess of exports over imports, 71,813 centners; * so that the exports of cottons from these States is more than equal in quantity to that of France, and amounts to almost one-sixth of that of Great Britain. With respect to the home consumption of the *Zollverein* states, it appears that the quantity of cotton twist used within them at the period referred to, was 50,886,970 lbs.,—a quantity which (deducting 25 per cent loss) yielded 38,150,225 lbs. of manufactured goods. Taking from this the 71,813 centners excess of exports, equal to 7,899,430 lbs., we have left for home consumption, 30,250,798 lbs.; being in the ratio of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per head of the then population of the union—an amount evidently admitting of further extension, and not being, we believe, more than half of the quantity used in England. In this state of things, it is not surprising that the British exports of cotton goods to Germany should have decreased with reference to the population. The ratio of this comparative decrease may be thus estimated.

Years.	Cotton Manufactures Exported.		Declared Value. †
	Quantity.		
1831, . .	41,522,072 yards	. .	L.1,146,068
1832, . .	51,479,811	1,499,432
1840, . .	45,763,127	1,100,792
1841, . .	48,755,656	1,129,944

The decrease appears to have been principally in British printed cottons, which will probably soon cease to be used at all within the *Zollverein* limits. It should be observed also, that a large proportion both of the cottons and woollens imported into Germany, appear at the fairs in transit only, and are afterwards passed, principally by smuggling, into Russia, Austria, and other countries. So that with respect to British woven cottons, the conclusion is, that the actual consumption in Germany is now very small indeed, and that, small as it is, it has been gradually diminishing.

The consumption of British cotton twist has, however, been largely augmented. Our exports of this article to Germany direct were :—

* Dieterici, *Statistische Uebersicht*, &c., p. 320.

† This includes the value of hosiery and small wares, of which the official tables do not give the quantity.

Years.	Quantity.	Value.
1831, . . .	20,454,890 lbs. . . .	L.1,197,274
1832, . . .	29,975,668	1,798,988
1840, . . .	41,765,508	2,451,299
1841, . . .	41,089,710	2,406,936

We find that, at present, about two-thirds of the twist consumed within the *Zollverein* states is imported from foreign countries; and certainly we cannot complain of the actual duty of 6s. per cwt. upon cotton yarn unbleached. It is, no doubt, moderate; and the consideration which has hitherto secured its remaining so, has been the utter inability of the German spinning establishments to supply the demand for twist, or even one-half of it. 'The inferiority of the German to the British spinneries is such, that this inability must necessarily continue for many years to come; and it is obvious, that if the price of twist and yarn were in the mean time to be artificially raised, the effect would be most injurious to the sale of the manufactured goods, for which the twist is a necessary material. Dr Bowring's Report of 1839, says, 'hitherto the majority of opinions have opposed 'the elevation of the duty on twist; but the demands for protection have been strengthened from year to year; and though 'nothing would seem so obvious, on a comparison of the arguments for and against an elevation of the duty on cotton-twist, 'than that such an elevation would be eminently pernicious to 'the manufacturing and commercial interests of Germany, I see 'every reason to anticipate, that the interest which demands 'the exclusion of the foreign article may ultimately succeed, 'unless a better direction be given to commercial legislation 'generally, so as to induce labour and capital to look to free 'communication and enlarged intercourse with other nations— 'and not to a protected home market alone, as the best field of 'encouragement.*' Subsequent experience has, we regret to say, confirmed the accuracy of Dr Bowring's prediction. The cotton-spinners have been every year more and more clamorous for increased protection. They are strongly supported by public opinion, particularly in southern Germany, and we shall be much surprised if they do not ultimately force the *Zollverein* congress to accede to their demands. They nearly succeeded at the congress at Stutgardt in 1842, where it was proposed to raise the duty from 6s. to 18s., (or six dollars) per cwt.† The question was, however, postponed; but the manufacturers did not abate

* Bowring's *Report*, p. 55.

† Despatches relative to modifications, &c., 1843.

their efforts, and their demands were renewed at the congress held at Berlin in the autumn of 1843. Some demanded a duty of four, others of five, others of six dollars, subject to a drawback on the exportation of the manufactured article—a condition which discloses plainly enough the effect that the increased duty must at all events have upon the sale of woven goods. According to our latest information, the forbearance of Prussia and Bavaria has again prevented the adoption of the spinners' demands, and the congress has once more deferred the subject. But we must caution our countrymen engaged in this branch of the manufacture, not to place any reliance upon the ultimate predominance of moderate views in the councils of the *Zollverein*.

We have at various times taken pains to ascertain, by careful enquiries, the state of public opinion in Germany with regard to this question; and our conviction is, that an increase of the duty on twist will, before very long, be carried in the congress. We do not indeed believe it possible for any measure of this kind to check at once, or otherwise than very gradually, the importation of twist and yarn from England; but when we see the protective principle becoming so popular, and so rapidly advancing towards its application to half-manufactured articles, we cannot but look with anxiety to the means of preserving this great market for the most important branch of the exports which now reach it from this country.

Woollen manufactures, although not protected to the extent of those of cotton, are still heavily taxed on importation into the *Zollverein*. The average rate of duty very much exceeds the 10 per cent held out by the Prussian Government. It ranges in fact from 20 to 50 per cent.* Notwithstanding, British woollens have maintained their ground well, and the exports of woollen yarn to Germany direct, have very much increased, as the following returns will show:—

Value of Woollens exported to Germany.

Years.	Manufactures.	Yarns.
1831, . . .	L.425,384 . . .	L.62,259
1832, . . .	817,346 . . .	130,189
1840, . . .	752,227 . . .	245,813
1841, . . .	884,541 . . .	291,656

The low duty of 1s. 6d. per cwt. upon foreign yarn has, no doubt, contributed very much to the prosperity of the home manufacture of woollen stuffs and cloths, which is thriving in most of the *Zollverein* states. They already export to a con-

* See Estimate in Appendix 30 to Dr Bowring's *Report*.

siderable amount; for it appears that the average exportation of woollens, in the three years 1837-8-9, was 69,274 centners, and the average excess of exports over imports, in the same years, was 43,463 centners.* It is impossible, therefore, to predict with confidence the permanent preservation of this market for British woollens. And we regret to remark, that at the Stutgardt congress of 1842, the *Zollverein* took a very decided step in the direction of excluding Yorkshire and Lancashire goods; by laying an additional duty of 40 per cent on mixed stuffs of woollen and cotton—such as *mousselines de laine*, &c.—on which the duty has been raised from L.4, 10s. to L.7, 10s. per centner.† The object of this proceeding was to force prematurely the increase of the fabrics of Prussia and Saxony; and we fear it is but too significant of the spirit which, we have said, is becoming more and more powerful in the *Zollverein* councils.

We have adverted to those branches of British exports which are of the greatest magnitude. There is, however, another, next in importance, though inferior in value, which requires some notice—viz., the iron manufacture. The declared value of this branch of our export trade to Germany direct, is thus officially stated:—

Years.	Iron and Steel Wrought and Unwrought.	Cutlery and Hardware.
1831, . .	L.53,459 . .	L.57,418
1832, . .	71,166 . .	78,129
1840, . .	184,018 . .	97,454
1841, . .	340,259 . .	103,188

The duties on hardware (ranging about 50 per cent *ad valorem*) appear excessive; but those on iron in its various stages, have hitherto been more moderate, varying from 2 to 10 per cent *ad valorem*. For instance:—

Hammered iron in bars, or rails and rough cast wares,	} pay 3s. per centner
Hammered iron manufactured for fine drawing, &c.,	
Iron and steel plates, wire, sword- blades, &c.,	} ... 18s. do.
Fine cast, polished, or mounted steel or iron,	
	} ... 30s. do.

But raw iron of all sorts has hitherto been imported duty-free. If any one principle in commercial legislation be clearer than the rest, it is this—that the raw material which feeds the labour and

* Dieterici, *Statistische Uebersicht*, p. 324.

† Despatches relative to modifications, &c., 1843.

skill of manufacturing industry, ought to be exempt from taxation, unless the public exigencies imperatively require a revenue duty upon it. Hitherto the *Zollverein* has acted upon this principle, in admitting foreign pig-iron duty-free; but the mining interest has long and strenuously contended for a protecting duty, and we have reason to fear that it has at length succeeded in forcing upon the Zoll congress the adoption of this pernicious line of policy. At the recent congress at Berlin it was proposed, that raw or pig-iron should be subjected to an import duty of 1s. per centner, which at the price of L.3 per ton, is equivalent to an *ad valorem* duty of 33 per cent; and further, that the duty upon iron in its next stage—viz., wrought or hammered, in bars or rails, and raw cast, or refined steel—should be raised, from 3s. to 4s. 6d. per centner, being 50 per cent, or, at the price of L.5 per ton, from 60 to 90 per cent *ad valorem*. At the time we write, we are assured that these proposals are expected to be carried, and if so, we can conceive nothing likely to be more injurious to the rightly understood interests of Germany. After the fatal example of France,* we might have hoped that the Zoll congress would have had the wisdom to reject all proposals for new taxes upon an article of such primary use and necessity as iron. Agriculture and manufactures must suffer by the rise in price of implements and machinery. The export of iron wares, which is becoming considerable, (in 1839 it exceeded 100,000 centners,) must be checked, if not entirely stopped. Above all, an impediment would so far be thrown in the way of the extension of the railways, upon which the further development of the resources of Germany is so essentially dependent. There are now within the Germanic confederation, twenty-one lines of railway in action, and their combined length is equal to 1100 English miles. What has been accomplished, however, is not a tenth part of that which, in the natural course of things, must and will be effected in this respect. A worse time, surely, could not be chosen for raising, first, the price of raw iron, for the benefit of the mining proprietors, and then (for one false step generally leads to another) the price of wrought iron, by way of compensation to the forge proprietors. It is well known that the German iron mines, situated principally in Rhenish Prussia, Westphalia, and Silesia, are in a depressed condition, owing partly to the want of roads and of

* See Annison, *Examen de l'enquête sur les fers*, quoted by Mr Macgregor in Part IV. (France) of the commercial Tariffs. The iron monopoly is equivalent to a tax upon French agriculture of two millions sterling.

coal, but chiefly to the bad system of law which regulates them; and to the monopolies, and heavy and unequal taxes, which so greatly enhance the cost of the metal produced. A thorough revision of the mining system ought long since to have taken place, and the royalties and other burdens ought to have been equalized, and greatly reduced. But, instead of this, the *Zollverein* contemplates a discriminating duty on foreign iron; thinking thereby to pacify the clamour of the mine-owners, and at the same time to gratify those landowners who, being the possessors of forests, look to a rise in the price of wood by a revival of activity in the mining districts. It would really be far from creditable to the Prussian government, (for Prussia is chiefly concerned in this question,) whilst professing an inclination for a liberal commercial policy, to yield easily to the selfish demands of class interests like these. The proposed measure is another most unfavourable sign of the restrictive tendencies of the *Zollverein*; and will naturally cause some uneasiness to the trade in this country. We are happy, however, in believing, that a very long time must elapse before the importation of British iron into Germany can be materially reduced in amount. Many years must expire before the home production can be stimulated to such a degree as to supply the entire demand of Germany—a demand which is augmenting in a ratio with which it is quite impossible for the home production to keep pace. The quantity of raw iron imported into the *Zollverein* states has risen from 207,203 centners in 1834, to 1,195,925 centners in 1842; and the quantity of wrought or hammered iron from 149,493 to 930,686 centners within the same period.* Here we see that the importation of both descriptions of iron has increased six-fold, or 600 per cent, within eight years, whilst the increase of the home production has not exceeded 28 per cent.† The imports, indeed, bid fair to rival the home production, which, in 1839, was as follows in the Prussian dominions, to which the mines and furnaces principally belong, viz.—of raw iron, 1,630,049 centners—of wrought iron, 1,355,466 centners. From these facts, it may be inferred that there can be no sufficient reason for this attempt to force the production of German iron by increased protecting duties; and further, that such a measure would probably fail in the one-sided object at which it aimed. The mining interests would be rendered more helpless than ever; the manufacturer would be deceived by his imaginary security; and the consumer would be injured, if he did not call in the aid of

* From official returns.

† Dieterici, *Statistische Uebersicht*, p. 287.

the smuggler, by being forced to pay an enhanced price for an article which he must of necessity obtain from foreign countries.

Enough has been said to show what we may expect from the future legislation of the *Zollverein*. There is no disposition to make any gratuitous concessions to Great Britain, or any other country. The Germans are content to see that, upon the whole, their industry is thriving. No doubt, if Germany had, since the peace, enjoyed the advantages of free trade with England and other states, her wealth would have been far greater than it now is. But, as those benefits are denied to her, she has done her best to profit by such favourable circumstances as her social condition afforded; and has raised her manufactures, not only to the point of supplying her home demand, but of exporting considerably in many instances. We fear there is much truth in Mr Macgregor's observation,—that ‘if these countries go on progressing, as the Americans say, in manufacturing, with food and all materials, except iron, and coal, and cotton wool, at about half the prices in England and Scotland, British manufacturers must, under the pressure of our existing British corn and provision laws, and of our duties on raw materials, be excluded nearly altogether from Germany; and the demand in America, and other countries, instead of greatly increasing, must greatly diminish.’*

In this state of things, the question becomes a very serious one—What are the best means of improving the commercial relations of Great Britain with the German states? We apply the question here to the case of Germany only; but it is equally applicable to our relations with France, and with most other countries.

There are three ways by which to overcome the obstructions placed by foreign Tariffs in the way of our commerce, viz.:—

1. Negotiation.
2. Retaliation.
3. The revision of our own financial system.

1. Diplomatic negotiation is one mode of inducing a foreign state to agree to a reduction of its import duties. If, therefore, we open a negotiation of this kind with the *Zollverein* states, we must either convince them that their interests will be promoted by making the reductions desired, or be prepared with equivalents on our side, in return for the concessions we require

* *Commercial and Financial Legislation*, chap. x.

from them. Now we affirm, without hesitation, that there is not the slightest hope of inducing the German states to relax their restrictions, from a mere sense of the benefits which a more liberal policy would ensure. It is much too late to think of leading them into a new path, against the popular voice and the clamours of numerous class interests, by any arguments, grounded upon abstract principles, however sound, of political economy. The leading statesmen of Prussia declare themselves to be individually opposed to the protective system. Their views differ, as widely as our own, from those of Dr List and the *Zollvereinsblatt*. But they find it more and more difficult to depart from the course in which Germany has been moving for nearly thirty years; they are every year more and more hampered by the pressure of interests which have grown up under legal sanction; and which, as we have shown, are strongly supported by the national sentiment and feeling. We are, therefore, of opinion, that it is impossible for any negotiation which Great Britain might open with the *Zollverein* to succeed, unless upon a basis of mutual reciprocity; that is, *we must be prepared to offer fair equivalents for the concessions we seek*. We must consent to admit the produce of Germany upon easy terms, before we can expect her to deal more favourably with our manufactures. It is undeniable that, ever since the peace, British legislation has been as hostile as it well could be to the interests of Germany. Our Tariff has been next to prohibitory, upon the two principal articles of her natural produce—Corn and Timber. England was the country which stood most in need of German corn; she was, in fact, the only country, except Holland, which did want it: by refusing to receive it, she has done her utmost to divert German capital from agriculture to manufactures. By our high duties and our sliding scales, we have made the German corn-trade a most hazardous speculation—a gambling business—depending upon the fluctuations of the barometer in England. The measures of the present Government, although professing to remove prohibitions and reduce duties on raw materials, have, in this respect, done little or nothing for the agriculture of Germany; on the contrary, the practical result of the new corn-law, as regards the importations of 1842, and of 1843, is, that the rates of duty have been actually raised. In 1842, the duty on foreign wheat rose from an average of 5s. 7d. per quarter, under the old law, to 8s. 5d. under the new; on wheat-flour, from 2s. to 2s. 11d. per cwt.; on barley, from 4s. 8d. to 8s. 11d.; and on rye, from 3s. 3d. to 7s.* In the year 1843, the lowest duty at which wheat

* Official returns relating to corn, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7th April 1843.

was imported, was 14s. per quarter, and the average duty of the year will, we believe, be found to be about 16s. 6d. The Canada corn bill of the last session has afforded facilities for the introduction of the produce of the United States, *via* Canada, at a moderate fixed duty; but this boon, beneficial as its tendency may be, has not been extended to any other foreign country. England has also long maintained enormous differential duties on German timber, making it pay 55s. for every 10s. levied upon the timber of our colonies. The actual amount of duty has been reduced by the Tariff of 1842, but the rates on foreign wood still range from at least 50 to 100 per cent *ad valorem*; and the disproportion between the duty on the foreign and the colonial article is greater than ever—a load of Baltic timber being now charged 25s., and the same quantity of Canada timber only one. Again, we lay very heavy duties on foreign butter and cheese, which, as well as meat and other provisions, are taxed differentially four times more than the produce of our colonies. We impose also a discriminating duty, equal to from 5 to 10 per cent on German wool; whilst the wool of our Australian colonies, which is gaining ground rapidly in the English market, is admitted duty free. On several branches of German manufacture, such as linen and silk, our duties are by no means moderate. Those on silk profess to be at the rate of 30 per cent *ad valorem*; but the customs having the option of charging by weight, the duties are practically raised to 60 and 70 per cent: the case is the same with respect to mixed velvets of silk and cotton, which are charged in London upwards of 70 per cent *ad valorem*—a proceeding which appears to us indefensible, even if intended as a retaliation upon the increased duty placed by the *Zollverein* on *mousselines-de-laine*. But we need not search for proofs of the necessity of revising our own Tariff, before we can remonstrate successfully against those of other nations. The question now is not—whether ours ought to be revised, but whether we are yet in time to procure thereby corresponding reductions by other countries. We know that, so long ago as 1825, Prussia was disposed to reciprocate with Great Britain, upon the condition of our admitting her corn and timber on liberal terms. But it was then remarked by Baron Maltzahn, that ‘as the produce of English industry finds a very extensive market in the Prussian monarchy, whilst, on the other hand, Prussia can only import into England the produce of its soil, and principally corn and wood, *it is evident that it is only by granting facilities to the importation of these two articles, that it is possible to establish the relations between the two countries on a footing of reciprocity.*’ In the reasonableness of this declaration we fully concur; and it will be fortunate, if, after a war of Tariffs between England and Germany for twenty-eight years,

we should still be able, by tardy concessions, to induce our neighbours to abandon their restrictive policy. We hope and believe that the door is not yet finally closed against us; but we are certain, that unless England is prepared to admit German produce and manufactures, including corn and timber, on a liberal footing, and perhaps, likewise, to make some further relaxations in our navigation laws, it is quite useless to attempt any negotiation with the *Zollverein* states on the subject.

2. Retaliation is no doubt open to us in extreme cases. But before a statesman adopts, or even threatens it, it behoves him to weigh maturely the probability of its ensuring the desired end. If it succeeds in procuring a repeal of obnoxious duties, then indeed it may, as a temporary stroke of policy, be justified. But if it fails, it reflects disgrace upon the Government which has resorted to it; and deservedly so, for the retaliatory duties in that case necessarily injure the state imposing them, without obtaining any corresponding benefit from the foreign country. Retaliation, therefore, is in general more objectionable than any other course of proceeding. To direct it against the *Zollverein* states would be futile; for there is not the most remote prospect of inducing them, by such means, to relax their Tariff. We have said enough to show how perfectly visionary must be any such idea. A retaliatory policy can only be carried out by undoing any good, however small, which the recent modifications of our own Tariff may have effected. Could it be gravely proposed to revive the prohibition of foreign provisions, or to increase the very high duties which the new Tariff has left upon foreign corn, timber, and manufactures? Such a notion is surely preposterous. Or shall we allow our existing treaty of reciprocity with Prussia to expire, and refuse to renew our recent treaty with the *Zollverein* states, whereby the produce of those states is allowed to be shipped from ports which are the natural outlets of their commerce? These would again be retrograde steps, much more mischievous to ourselves than to Germany. We regret to find some indications of a retaliatory policy dimly shadowed out in the recent official correspondence between the British Government and that of Prussia. Lord Aberdeen has very properly remonstrated against the restrictive tendencies of the *Zollverein*, and especially against the contemplated new duties on British iron. He was fully justified in so remonstrating, and we think he might have gone further, by recalling to the recollection of the Prussian Government the pledge given to Mr Canning in 1825, that the maximum of protection did not exceed 10 per cent; for, if we have any case against the *Zollverein* Tariff, it appears to us to rest mainly upon the violation of this official and formal guarantee. But we trust there is no serious intention of

executing the threat, that ‘it may be absolutely necessary for the British Government to have recourse to retaliatory measures, and even to revise those portions of the new Tariff, framed in a spirit of liberality, which appears to be so little appreciated.’ Inadequate as the new Tariff was to the necessities of the country, it was, upon the whole, an advance in the direction of financial reform; and we are glad to find, in the official correspondence, the declaration, that ‘the change in progress in the commercial system of this country is the result of the conviction entertained by the British Government of its expediency and sound policy, and is not dependent upon specified engagements with foreign powers for the grant of reciprocal advantages to Great Britain.’ Now, if such be the conviction of her Majesty’s advisers, we would exhort them to pause before they attempt to undo the work they believe so good, for reasons which could hardly appear otherwise than vindictive. If Prussia is deficient in gratitude, we shall not infuse into her a more thankful spirit, by excluding her from whatever benefits other nations may be deriving from the Tariff. To give and take in this way would be as irrational as it would be undignified. Admitting that we have reason to complain of the protective tendencies of the *Zollverein*, there is no sufficient case to justify Great Britain in raising her Tariff for purposes of retaliation, if such a course were generally expedient. The high rates of duty on our cotton and woollen stuffs did not originate with the present *Zollverein*. They have been enforced in Germany for nearly thirty years, and, upon some articles, have been lower since, than before, the year 1833. It is true we are threatened with an additional 6s. per cwt. upon cotton-twist, and with a new duty of 1s. per cwt. upon pig-iron; it is true, also, that the duty on *mousselines-de-laine* has been lately raised 40 per cent. But it is equally undeniable that we tax foreign wheat, the average price being under 51s., with 20s. per quarter—being at the rate of from 40 to 50 per cent *ad valorem*; that we tax foreign wood at the rate of from 50 to 100 per cent; that we tax foreign manufactures of silk, and of mixed silk and cotton, from 60 to 80 per cent. Neither can it be denied that foreign nations have reason to complain of our sliding-scales, differential duties, and navigation laws. Upon what ground, then, could the British Government justify itself in raising the actual duties on German produce and manufactures? We cannot think it doubtful that, however objectionable may be the present policy of the *Zollverein*, British interests must suffer from any measures, under the name of retaliation, which may establish new prohibitions, or add to the existing restrictions, upon those articles of her produce and manufactures which Germany is desirous of selling to this country.

3. We come now to the third expedient, namely, that of giving our immediate attention to the reformation of our own financial system. The *Zollverein* may appropriately suggest to us the expediency of removing the *beam* from our own Tariff, before we offer our assistance in taking the *mote* out of theirs. Both Tariffs are indeed bad enough. They are alike injurious to the well-being of the consumer—of the many in both countries. But we are sorry to say that, as a whole, the German Tariff will be found more favourable than our own to the interests of the latter. Compare, for example, the following duties on colonial produce:—

ZOLLVEREIN TARIFF.

Sugar, unrefined,	.	.	£0 15	0 per centner
... refined,	.	.	1 13	0 ...
Spirits, distilled,	.	.	0 2	2 per gallon.
Coffee,	.	.	1 0	0 per centner.
Tea,	.	.	1 13	0 ...
Tobacco (leaf,)	.	.	0 16	6 ...
... manufactured,	.	.	1 13	0 ...

BRITISH TARIFF.

Sugar, raw,	.	.	£3 3	0 per cwt.
... refined,	.	.	8 8	0 ...
Spirits, distilled,	.	.	1 2	6 per gallon.
Coffee,	.	.	3 14	8 per cwt.
Tea,	.	.	11 13	4 ...
Tobacco, unmanufactured,	.	.	16 16	0 ...
... manufactured,	.	.	52 18	0 ...

From these instances, and others which have been noticed, it is sufficiently obvious how much room there is for a sound and comprehensive reformation of our own financial system. Such a reform ought to be effected with immediate reference to British interests, and the wants of our own population—all protective duties, as such, should cease; and our Customs-Tariff be converted into one of moderate duties, for the purpose of revenue only. There is no sufficient reason for delaying this great reform, for the sake of carrying on preliminary negotiations with foreign countries; on the contrary, we should legislate first, and foreign states would, sooner or later, discover that it was their interest to partake in the benefits which our improved legislation would hold out to them. The proper course is for England to take the initiative in a really liberal commercial policy; and there can be no doubt that, in the majority of cases, foreign states would then be too glad to deal with us upon a basis of reasonable and substantial reciprocity. We shall wait till doomsday, if we wait to see whether the *Zollverein*

will first reduce its duties on British manufactures. We ought to make at once those alterations in our duties on corn and other articles of consumption, which the necessities of our own people so imperatively require. Let it be known to Germany, and all other countries, that Great Britain has abandoned altogether the system of restriction; that she has determined upon a really liberal Tariff, as an example to other nations, and to induce them to reciprocate with her. Concessions will then come spontaneously from foreign states, because they will have before them—what they have never yet had—the certainty of the benefits which such concessions will ensure to them. There is but one way of permanently securing the foundations of our commercial prosperity; and that is, not to endeavour to obtain any special advantages from particular nations, but to deal with all the world upon the same fair and liberal terms.* We repeat, let the British tariff be framed upon the basis of the true interests of the British people, and we shall not fail to derive the utmost advantages which are attainable from the reciprocal concessions of foreign countries. Our moderation and liberality would be appreciated in the best of markets—that of the whole civilized world.

It is right, before concluding, to distinguish the Tariff of the *Zollverein* from that of those northern states which have kept aloof from it; especially as their import duties are very much lower than those of the *Zollverein*. The Hanoverian Tariff is lower, generally by one half, in some cases by more than two-thirds. For example, the Hanoverian duties are, upon—

Cotton yarn unbleached, .	£0	3	1	per centner.
Cotton manufactures, .	1	17	6	do.
Woollen manufactures, from	1	5	1	} do.
to	1	17	6	

exclusive, however, of the State duties, which Hanover continues to levy by the mere sufferance of Great Britain and other powers. The import duties of Mecklenburg are very low, being less than two per cent on foreign manufactures. Hamburg levies only one-half per cent *ad valorem* on imports, and one-eighth per cent on exports, and allows goods in transit to pass duty free

* This principle is enunciated in the minute of the Board of Trade, in reply to Baron Maltzahn, dated 16th January 1826; whilst the same minute most inconsistently vindicates protecting duties, and in particular the laws which restrict the importation of foreign corn.

under certain regulations. The accession of these northern states to their body is anxiously desired by the *Zollverein* communities; it is a favourite object not only of the *Zollvereinsblatt*, but of many reflecting persons of more moderate views. The present state of opinion in these northern states, including the Hanseatic towns, seems to be tending towards their accession at no very distant period. We are fully sensible of the advantages arising from the moderate Tariffs of these detached states; and wish there was any prospect of their example influencing the rest of Germany. But we have no faith in the possibility of their being able long to resist that strong current of feeling and opinion which is nationalizing Germany, and which must force them, whether for good or evil, into that union which we have described as the real Germanic confederation. It would therefore be but a small and short-sighted policy on the part of Great Britain, if she were to busy herself in trying to counteract a general union of the states of Germany. The mere market of the detached states is not worth consideration, in comparison with the main point of improving our commercial relations with Germany at large; and the inclusion of all these northern states within the *Zollverein*, would be more likely than any thing we know to liberalize the character of that association. They are chiefly agricultural, and their interest consequently lies rather in the extension of foreign commerce, than in meeting the selfish views of the manufacturers of the south and west. Hamburg must of course remain a free port, receiving and transmitting foreign merchandize like other free ports. She might be to the *Zollverein* states what Trieste is to the Austrian dominions. But these are arrangements with which Britain has no legitimate concern. The true object of British policy is, not to counteract the extension of the *Zollverein* to the rest of Germany, but to weaken and destroy that mischievous influence which is now by far too predominant—the influence of monopoly and class-interests. With such interests we have no sympathy; but for Germany herself, our feelings are those of friendship and goodwill; and we do not yet despair of seeing the *Zollverein* converted into an instrument for good, if England will only do her share in the work, and prove the sincerity of her professions, by setting herself the example of that policy which she recommends to the adoption of others.

ART. V.—1. *Children's Employment Commission. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. First Report. 1842. Folio.*

2. *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report. 1843. Folio.*

3. *Physical and Moral condition of Children and Young Persons employed in Mines and Manufactures. By Authority. 8vo. 1843.*

THERE is always in this country a vast amount of floating philanthropy at work, amply sufficient to remedy almost every social evil under which we labour—were it but more cautious, sober, and enlightened :—preceded by more diligent enquiry, animated by a purer zeal, and guided by more sound and systematic principle. Unfortunately, however, the spirit of humanity, as commonly manifested among us, has something morbid, roaming, and restless in its character, which materially impairs both its purity and its usefulness. There is too little that is patient, searching, or comprehensive in its investigations ; and too much that is unsound in the activity with which it is ever prowling about for some victim to rescue, or some oppressor to devour. But the worst feature of this spirit among us is, that the remoter the suffering, the keener the sympathy and the indignation it excites ;—and that we are always most indefatigably active at a convenient distance from home.

It cannot be doubted that there is more busy, prying, laborious benevolence in England than in any country under the sun. Yet nowhere does the condition of society present more dreadful wretchedness, or a more appalling catalogue of ‘unreformed though recognised abuses.’ Whence arises this anomaly ? The explanation we believe to be twofold ;—that our philanthropists prefer the pleasure of enacting a remedy, to the labour of investigating the disease ; and that, whenever they have a choice, they like foreign service best. They are fonder of operating on the *mote* abroad, than mindful of the *beam* at home. The vice of opium-smoking in China offends them more than the vice of gin-drinking in England. Their charity finds its most congenial occupation at the Antipodes.

These remarks have been suggested by a comparison of the volumes at the head of this article with the report of the ‘Factory Commission,’ which appeared some years ago—a comparison from which many important conclusions may be drawn. About ten years since, after the grievance of West Indian slavery had

been fully examined, and in a great degree removed, the condition of children employed in factories attracted the commiseration of some very well-intentioned, but not very well-informed, or very sober-minded philanthropists; and the public was shocked and astounded by descriptions of cotton-mills in which infants of tender years were kept to hard labour for fifteen, and even eighteen, hours a-day, and were subjected to the most cruel treatment; and in which, moreover, immorality of every kind prevailed to a horrible extent. The columns of the daily press, and the speeches of parliamentary orators, abounded with statements of this kind, which met with ready credence and ardent sympathy—especially in London, and generally in the south of England, where the real state of the factory population was unknown; and the excitement of the public mind became so great upon the subject, that an application made by the manufacturers to Parliament, requesting them simply to enquire ‘whether these things were,’ only escaped rejection by a majority of *one*.

A Commission was, however, issued, which examined minutely into the condition of the children and young persons employed in factories, and which published three voluminous reports. From these it appeared that many of the allegations which had been made against factory labour were wholly untrue, and that nearly all had been grossly exaggerated—that the general hours of employment were twelve, and that the instances in which this number was exceeded were extremely rare—that the occupation of the children during these hours was commonly light, and suited to their strength—that they were seldom admitted into factories till they were *nine* years old*—that cases of ill treatment were exceedingly rare, and where they did occur, were chargeable, not upon the masters, but upon the workmen, and often on the parents of the children; and lastly, that there was no reason to believe that those employed in factories were either more unhealthy, or more immoral, than others of the same class in life; and that there was some reason to believe the exact contrary.

Notwithstanding the authority with which these statements came forth, the impression made upon the public mind had been too strong to be speedily removed; and, moreover, it was felt on all hands that, even admitting the entire correctness of the Commissioners’ report, there were evils in the factory system which called for regulation—that twelve hours a-day was long enough for any one to work, and too long to be desirable either for the

* Silk factories, which are exempted from the operation of the law, were, however, an exception.

bodily or mental welfare of children ; and an act was accordingly passed, which has ever since been in force, fixing the age of admission at *nine* years, and the period of work for children at *eight hours* daily ; and making a clumsy and inefficient provision for their instruction. In spite, however, of the favourable report of the Commissioners, and the effectiveness of the regulations established by this act, an impression continued to prevail, that the manufacturers were the most cruel of masters, and the people they employed the most oppressed and overlaboured of the working population ; and repeated application was made to Parliament for new and more stringent enactments to remedy abuses which had long ceased to exist, and which never had existed to any thing approaching the extent that was believed.

Two years ago, however, it occurred to the minds of our more active philanthropists, that there might be some truth in the suggestion long since made to them by persons better acquainted with the poorer classes than our legislators generally are—viz., that vast numbers of children were employed in a variety of other trades besides the cotton and woollen manufactures—that of the condition of the work-people in these trades the public knew absolutely nothing ; and that evils and abuses as great as any previously discovered might, on enquiry, be found to exist among them. On the motion of Lord Ashley, accordingly, a Commission was issued, ‘ to enquire into the numbers and condition of ‘ children and young persons engaged in various employments ‘ *not* under the control of the Factories’ Regulation Act ;’ and the result of this enquiry is now published in the two reports at the head of the present article—one relating to mines, and the other to miscellaneous trades and manufactures.

The contents of these volumes are deeply interesting, and for the most part exceedingly painful—displaying an extent and severity of suffering and degradation among sections of our working population which few had previously suspected ; and proving too, beyond question, that of all the occupations in which children and young persons are engaged, factory labour (to which public scrutiny had hitherto been exclusively directed) is the most gentle in amount, the most moderate in duration, the best regulated, the best remunerated, and the least injurious to either health or morals ;—that, in consequence, by confining our interference to factories alone, and thereby driving children out of them into less desirable employments,* we have not

* Mr Senor, on questioning a little lad whom he found labouring in coal-pit near Hyde, as to what he was about in such an unfit place,

only done considerable mischief, but have been guilty of great injustice.

Our limits will not allow us to go through all the employments reported upon in these volumes; but, as specimens, we will give a short account of the condition of the people engaged in *Coal mines, Calico-printing, Metal wares, Lace-making, and Millinery.*

Coal Mines.—The number of children and young persons employed in these mines is enormous; and they appear to commence working, even underground, at an earlier age than is recorded of any other occupation except lace-making. The Commissioners report—

‘ That instances occur in which children are taken into these mines to work as early as *four* years of age, sometimes at five, not unfrequently between six and seven, and often from seven to eight, while from eight to nine is the ordinary age at which their employment commences. . . . That a very large proportion of the persons employed in these mines is under thirteen years of age; and a still larger proportion between thirteen and eighteen. That in several districts female children begin to work in the mines as early as males.

‘ That the nature of the employment which is assigned to the youngest children, generally that of “trapping,” requires that they should be in the pit as soon as the work of the day commences, and, according to the present system, that they should not leave the pit before the work of the day is at an end.

‘ That although this employment scarcely deserves the name of labour, yet, as the children engaged in it are commonly excluded from light, and are always without companions, it would, were it not for the passing and repassing of the coal carriages, amount to solitary confinement of the worst order.

‘ That in some districts they remain in solitude and darkness during the whole time they are in the pit, and, according to their own account, many of them never see the light of day for weeks together during the greater part of the winter season, excepting on those days in the week when work is not going on, and on the Sundays.

‘ That at different ages, from six years old and upwards, the hard work of pushing and dragging the carriages of coal from the workings to the main ways, or to the foot of the shaft, begins: a labour which all classes of witnesses concur in stating, requires the unremitting exertion of all the physical power which the young workers possess.

‘ That, in the districts in which females are taken down into the coal mines, both sexes are employed together in precisely the same kind of labour, and work for the same number of hours; that the girls and boys, and the young men and the young women, and even married women and

received for answer—“Working down here till I am old enough to go into the factory.”—(*Senor's Letters on the Factory Act.*)

women with child, commonly work almost naked, and the men, in many mines, quite naked; and that all classes of witnesses bear testimony to the demoralizing influence of the employment of females underground.*

‘That, in the east of Scotland, a much larger proportion of children and young persons are employed in these mines than in other districts, many of whom are girls; and that the chief part of their labour consists in carrying the coals on their backs up steep ladders.

‘That when the work-people are in full employment, the regular hours of work for children and young persons are rarely less than eleven; more often they are *twelve*; in some districts they are *thirteen*; and in one district they are generally *fourteen* and upwards.

‘That in the great majority of these mines night-work is a part of the ordinary system of labour, more or less regularly carried on according to the demand for coals, and one which the whole body of evidence shows to act most injuriously both on the physical and moral condition of the work-people, and more especially on that of the children and young persons.

‘That in many cases the children and young persons have little cause of complaint in regard to the treatment they receive, while in many mines the conduct of the adult colliers to them is harsh and cruel; the persons in authority who must be cognizant of this ill usage never interfering to prevent it, and some of them distinctly stating that they do not conceive they have a right to do so. That with some exceptions little interest is taken by the coal-owners in the children employed in their works after the daily labour is over. . . . That in all the coalfields accidents of a fearful nature are extremely frequent, and of the work-people who perish by such accidents, the proportion of children and young persons sometimes equals, and rarely falls much below that of adults.’—(*First Report*, p. 255-7.)

With respect to the general healthiness of the employment, there is considerable discrepancy in the evidence adduced; many witnesses stating that the colliers generally, especially the adults, are a remarkably healthy race, showing a very small average of sickness,† and recovering with unusual rapidity from the severest accidents;—a peculiarity which the medical men reasonably enough attribute to the uniform temperature of the mines, and still more to the abundance of nutritious food which the high wages of the work-people enable them to procure. The great majority of the witnesses, however, give a very different impression. Upwards of two hundred, whose testimony is

* It is, however, but fair to state, that many competent and most respectable observers declare, that though the *facts* stated by the Commissioners may be perfectly true, yet that the tone and spirit of the Report bears token of material exaggeration.

† The colliers in the east of Scotland, however, are excepted.

quoted, or referred to in the Report of the Central Commissioners, testify to the extreme fatigue of the children when they return home at night, and to the injurious effect which this ultimately produces on their constitution.

While the effect of such early and severe labour is, to cause a peculiar and extraordinary degree of muscular development in collier children, it also stunts their growth, and produces a proportionate diminution of stature, as is shown by the following comparison.—(*Physical and Moral Condition of Children*, p. 55.)

10 Farmers' boys, between 12 and 14 years, measured each,	-	-	-	56.4 inches in height		
10 Colliers' boys,	-	-	-	53.4	-	-
Difference	-	-	-	3.	-	-
10 Farmers' girls, between 14 and 17 years, measured each,	-	-	-	60.5 inches in height		
10 Colliers' girls,	-	-	-	55.6	-	-
Difference	-	-	-	4.9	-	-
51 Farmers' children, 10 years old, measured each,	-	-	-	51.	-	-
60 Colliers' children,	-	-	-	46.	-	-
Difference	-	-	-	3.	-	-
49 Farmers' children, 15½ years old, measured each,	-	-	-	59.	-	-
50 Colliers' children,	-	-	-	53.	-	-
Difference	-	-	-	6.	-	- *

Labour in coal mines is also stated, by a great number of most respectable witnesses, to produce a crippled gait, and a curvature of the spinal column, as well as a variety of disorders—among which may be enumerated, affections of the heart, rupture, asthma, rheumatism, and loss of appetite;—and this not merely in a few cases, but as an habitual, and almost inevitable result of their occupation.

* It is curious to contrast this with a similar comparison instituted by the Factory Commissioners, and embracing upwards of 1000 children.—(*Analysis of the Evidence taken before the Factory Commissioners*, p. 9.)

Boys not in factories averaged	55.56 inches	Girls not in factories	54.979 in.
Boys in factories	55.28	Girls in factories	54.951
Difference	.28!	Difference	.028!!

‘ Of the effect of employment in the coal mines of the East of Scotland in producing an early and irreparable deterioration of the physical condition, the Sub-commissioner thus reports :— ‘ In a state of society, such as has been described, the condition of the children may be easily imagined, and its baneful influence on the health cannot well be exaggerated; and I am informed by very competent authorities, that six months’ labour in the mines is sufficient to effect a very visible change in the physical condition of the children: and indeed it is scarcely possible to conceive of circumstances more calculated to sow the seeds of future disease, and, to borrow the language of the instructions, to prevent the organs from being developed, to enfeeble and disorder their functions, and to subject the whole system to injury, which cannot be repaired at any subsequent stage of life.”—(*Frank’s Report*, s. 68: App. Pt. I., p. 396.) In the West of Scotland, Dr Thomson, Ayr, says: “ A collier at fifty generally has the appearance of a man ten years older than he is.”—(*Evidence*, No. 34; App. Pt. I., p. 371, l. 58.)

If we turn to the testimony as to the moral, intellectual, and spiritual state of the great mass of the collier population, the picture is even darker and more appalling than that which has been drawn of their physical condition. The means of instruction to which they have access are scanty in the extreme;—their readiness to avail themselves of such means, if possible still scantier; and the real results of the instruction they do obtain, scantiest of all—as the following extracts will show :—

‘ As an example of the mental culture of the collier children in the neighbourhood of Halifax, the Sub-commissioner states, that an examination of 219 children and young persons at the bottom of one of the coal-pits, he found only 31 that could read an easy book, not more than 15 that could write their names, these latter having received instruction at some day-school before they commenced colliery labour, and that the whole of the remaining number were incapable of connecting two syllables together.’—(*Scriven, Report, Mines*: App. Pt. II., 73, s. 91.)

‘ Of the state of education in the coalfields of Lancashire, the Sub-commissioner gives the following account :—“ It was my intention to have laid before the Central Board evidence of the effects of education, as shown by the comparative value of educated and uneducated colliers and children employed in coal mines, as workmen, and to have traced its effects, as shown by the superior moral habits and generally more exalted condition of those who had received the benefits of education over those who had not, which I had observed and proved to exist in other branches of industry. I found, however, that the case was hopeless; there were so few, either of colliers or their children, who had even received the first rudiments of education, that it was impossible to institute a comparison.”—(*Kennedy, Report, Mines*: App. Pt. II., p. 183, s. 268.)

‘ In the coalfields of North Lancashire examined by Mr Austin, it is stated that the education of the working-people has been almost

wholly neglected; that they have received scarcely any instruction at all, either religious or secular; that they cannot therefore be supposed to have any correct conception of their moral duties, and that in fact their intellects are as little enlightened as their places of work—"darkness reigns throughout."—(*Report, Mines*: App. Pt. II., p. 805, s. 26.)

'In the East of Scotland a marked inferiority in the collier children to those of the town and manufacturing population. Upwards of 100 heads of collier families, most of whom leave their children to themselves—to ignorance and irreligion.'—(*Ibid.* p. 426, l. 42.) "Many of the children are not educated at all."—(*Ibid.* p. 428, l. 30.)

It appears that, in the principal mining districts, few of the colliers attend any place of worship; and of their entire ignorance of the most elementary truths, either of secular or religious knowledge, the following extracts will give some idea:—

'YORKSHIRE.—"With respect even to the common truths of Christianity and facts of Scripture," says Mr Symons, "I am confident that the majority are in a state of heathen ignorance. I unhesitatingly affirm that the mining children, as a body, are growing up in a state of absolute and appalling ignorance; and I am sure that the evidence I herewith transmit, alike from all classes—clergymen, magistrates, masters, men, and children—will fully substantiate and justify the strength of the expressions which I have alone felt to be adequate to characterize the mental condition of this benighted community."

"Throughout the whole district of the coal-field," says Mr Scriven, "the youthful population is in a state of profaneness, and almost of mental imbecility."

"The ignorance and the degraded state of the colliers and their children," says Mr Kennedy, "are proverbial throughout this district. They are uneducated, ignorant, and brutal; deteriorated as workmen and dangerous as subjects."

But nothing can show their mental state in so striking a manner, as the evidence derived from the examination of the children themselves, by the Sub-commissioner:—

"A girl eighteen years old—I never learnt nought. I never go to church or chapel. I have never heard that a good man came into the world, who was God's Son, to save sinners. I never heard of Christ at all. Nobody has ever told me about him, nor have my father and mother ever taught me to pray. I know no prayer: I never pray. I have been taught nothing about such things."—(*Evidence, Mines*, p. 252, ll. 35, 39.) "The Lord sent Adam and Eve on earth to save sinners."—(*Ibid.* p. 245, l. 66.) "I don't know who made the world; I never heard about God."—(*Ibid.* p. 228, l. 17.) "Jesus Christ was a shepherd; he came a hundred years ago to receive sin. I don't know who the Apostles were."—(*Ibid.* p. 232, l. 11.) "Jesus Christ was born in heaven, but I don't know what happened to him; he came on earth

to commit sin. Yes; to commit sin. Scotland is a country, but I don't know where it is. I never heard of France."—(*Ibid.* p. 265, l. 17.) "I don't know who Jesus Christ was; I never saw him, but I've seen Foster, who prays about him."—(*Ibid.* p. 291, l. 63.) "I have been three years at a Sunday-school. I don't know who the Apostles were. Jesus Christ died for his son to be saved."—(*Ibid.* 245, l. 10.) Employer (to the Commissioner,) "You have expressed surprise at Thomas Mitchell (the preceding witness) not having heard of God. I judge there are few colliers hereabouts that have."—(*Second Report*, p. 156*.)

The moral state of the collier population is represented by the Sub-commissioners as deplorable in the extreme:—

'LANCASHIRE.—"All that I have seen myself," says the Sub-commissioner, "tends to the same conclusion as the preceding evidence; namely, that the moral condition of the colliers and their children in this district, is decidedly amongst the lowest of any portion of the working-classes."—(*Ibid. Report*, s. 278, *et seq.*)

'DURHAM and NORTHUMBERLAND.—The religious and moral condition of the children, and more particularly of the young persons employed in the collieries of North Durham and Northumberland, is stated by clergymen and others, witnesses, to be "deplorable." "Their morals," they say "are bad, their education worse, their intellect very much debased, and their carelessness, irreligion, and immorality" exceeding any

* As a relief of this painful picture, and a pleasing proof of what may be effected by well-directed zeal, even in cases the most apparently hopeless, we subjoin the following quotation, (*Second Report*).—"Of the colliers in the South Gloucestershire coalfield, Mr Waring says, that "formerly they were the terror of the surrounding neighbourhoods, and for gross ignorance, rudeness, and irreligion, were almost without parallels in any Christian community." "So great is the change effected in this population, that the colliers of these districts, as a body, are now exemplary in the discharge of their social and moral duties, and are as remarkable for their attendance on religious worship as they were for their former desecration of the Sabbath by trespasses, outrages, savage amusements, and revels. "The task of reform," says Mr H. H. Jones, "was undertaken by the Dissenters; and unpromising, nay, almost hopeless, as it appeared, being persevered in, has changed the character of the people, and accomplished more than could have been expected. What the Established Church has not yet been able to supply, the Dissenters have: chapels have every where been built by them, and their efforts, always unsupported, and often scoffed at, by the clergy, gentry, and influential proprietors, have been attended with signal success, and prove how much depends on careful and persevering instruction, whether those who are brought together in numbers by large works shall be moral, religious, and of decent conduct, or brawlers, drunkards, profane, and obscene."

thing to be found in an agricultural district.’—(Leifchild, *Report, Mines: Evidence*, Nos. 795, 530, 500, 493, 668.)

Calico-Printing.—This employs a vast number of children of both sexes, who have to mix and grind the colours for the adult work-people, and are commonly called *teerers*. They begin to work, according to the Report, sometimes before five years of age, often between five and six, and generally before nine. The usual hours of labour are twelve, including meal-time; but as the children generally work the same time as the adults, ‘it is by no means uncommon in all the districts for *children of five or six years old to be kept at work fourteen and even sixteen hours consecutively.*’—*Second Report*, p. 59. In many instances, however, it will be seen that even these hours are shamefully exceeded, during a press of work.

‘352. Thomas Sidbread, block-printer, after taking a child who had already been at work all day to assist him as a teerer through the night, says—“We began to work between eight and nine o’clock on the Wednesday night; but the boy had been sweeping the shop from Wednesday morning. You will scarcely believe it, but it is true—I never left the shop till six o’clock on the Saturday morning; and I had never stopped working all that time, excepting for an hour or two, and that boy with me all the time. I was knocked up, and the boy was almost insensible.”

‘353. Henry Richardson, block-printer, states—“At four o’clock I began to work, and worked all that day, all the next night, and until ten the following day. I had only one teerer during that time, and I dare say he would be about twelve years old. I had to shout to him towards the second night, as he got sleepy. I had one of my own children, about ten years old, who was a teerer. He worked with me at Messrs Wilson and Crichton’s, at Blakely. We began to work together about two or three in the morning, and left off at four or five in the afternoon.”

Night-work, too, with all its evil consequences, is very common in this trade;—and of the general state of education among the block-printers in Lancashire, the Commissioners thus speak, (p. 172.)

‘The evidence collected by Mr Kennedy in the Lancashire district, tends to show that the children employed in this occupation are excluded from the opportunities of education; that this necessarily contributes to the growth of an ignorant and vicious population; that the facility of obtaining early employment for children in printfields empties the day-schools; that parents without hesitation sacrifice the future welfare of their children through life for the immediate advantage or gratification obtained by the additional pittance derived from the child’s earnings, and that they imagine, or pretend, that they do not neglect their children’s education if they send them to Sunday-schools.’

Metal Wares.—The chief seats of manufactures in metal are Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Sheffield; but many of the minor branches are carried on in different parts of Scotland, and in Worcestershire and Lancashire. In the various departments of this species of manufacture many thousands of children of both sexes are employed. They begin to work generally about their *eighth* year, as in Birmingham and Sheffield, but often earlier; while in *pin-making*, as carried on at Warrington, both boys and girls commence when *five* years old, and work *twelve hours* a-day, and sometimes, though rarely, even more. The hours of work in most of the metal manufactures are very irregular, generally from ten to thirteen a-day; but, especially in the neighbourhood of Wolverhampton, it is by no means unfrequent to extend them to fifteen or sixteen for weeks together. The places in which the occupations are carried on are occasionally large, clean, and well ventilated; but in the great majority of cases, a very different description of them is given.

‘In general the buildings are very old, and many of them are in a dilapidated, ruinous, and even dangerous condition. Nothing is more common than to find many of the windows broken; in some cases I observed more broken than whole panes; great and just complaint is made upon this point by those employed. The shops are often dark and narrow; many of them, especially those used for stamping, are from four to seven feet below the level of the ground; these latter, which are cold and damp, are justly complained of by the workers. From defective construction all these old shops are liable to become “suffocatingly hot in summer (and also at night when the gas is lighted) and very cold in winter. Efficient ventilation is a thing unknown in these places. The great majority of the shops are never whitewashed, but there are many creditable exceptions to this statement.”

‘It has been already stated, that although the whole population of the town of Wolverhampton and the neighbourhood, of all ranks, are engaged in the different manufactures of the place, yet that there are few manufactories of large size, the work being commonly carried on in small workshops. These workshops are usually situated at the backs of the houses, there being very few in the front of a street; so that the places where the children and the great body of the operatives are employed are completely out of sight, in narrow courts, unpaved yards, and blind alleys. In the smaller and dirtier streets of the town, in which the poorest of the working classes reside, “there are narrow passages, at intervals of every eight or ten houses, and sometimes at every third or fourth house. These narrow passages are also the general gutter, which is by no means always confined to one side, but often streaming all over the passage. Having made your way through the passage, you find yourself in a space varying in size with the number of houses, hutches, or hovels it contains. They are nearly all proportionately crowded. Out of this space there are other narrow passages, sometimes leading to

other similar hovels. The workshops and houses are mostly built on a little elevation sloping towards the passage."—(*Second Report*, p. 33.)

The most painful portions, however, of the Report on the metal manufactures, are those which relate to the treatment of the children and apprentices at Willenhall, near Wolverhampton, and to the noxious influences of those departments which are carried on at Sheffield.—(P. 83.)

'455. The district which requires special notice on account of the general and almost incredible abuse of the children, is that of Wolverhampton and the neighbourhood. In the town of Wolverhampton itself, among the large masters children are not punished with severity, and in some of the trades, as among the japanners, they are not beaten at all; but, on the other hand, in the nail and tip manufactories, in some of the foundries, and among the very numerous class of small masters generally, the punishments are harsh and cruel; and in some cases they can only be designated as ferocious.

'456 In Willenhall the children are shamefully and most cruelly beaten with a horsewhip, strap, stick, hammer, handle, file, or whatever tool is nearest at hand, or are struck with the clenched fist or kicked.

'457. In Sedgley they are sometimes struck with a red-hot iron, and burnt and bruised simultaneously; sometimes they have "a flash of lightning" sent at them. "When a bar of iron is drawn white-hot from the forge it emits fiery particles, which the man commonly flings in a shower upon the ground by a swing of his arm before placing the bar upon the anvil. This shower is sometimes directed at the boy. It may come over his hands and face, his naked arms, or on his breast. If his shirt be open in front, which is usually the case, the red-hot particles are lodged therein, and he has to shake them out as fast as he can." * * * "His master's name is ———, of Little London. There is another apprentice besides him, who is treated just as bad." ———, aged fifteen, "works at Knoblocks with ———. Is a fellow-apprentice with ———. Lives in the house of his master. Is beaten by his master, who hits him sometimes with his fists, and sometimes with the file haft, and sometimes with a stick—it's no matter what when he's a bit cross; sometimes hits him with the locks; has cut his head open four or five times; so he has his fellow-apprentice's head."

'466. The Rev. Isaac Clarkson, magistrate, vicar of Wednesbury: "In his capacity of magistrate complaints often come before him, made by boys against masters from different places round about, such as Willenhall and Darlaston, but he did not encourage them, as they should more properly apply to the magistrates of Wolverhampton. More complaints came before him from the mines than from the manufactories; but sometimes there was very bad usage in the latter. A boy from Darlaston has recently been beaten most unmercifully with a red-hot piece of iron. The boy was burnt—fairly burnt. Wished to cancel the indentures; but the master had been to the board of guardians, or to the clerk of the Stafford union, and promised to behave better in future. Has had various similar cases brought before him."

The following statements of the Commissioners demand serious consideration.—(*Second Report*, p. 105.)

‘581. But the chief disease is that produced by the occupation of the grinder, which is the most pernicious of any branch of manufacture in England. The inhalation of the dust of the grindstone and of the steel of the knife, or whatever he may be grinding, is so pernicious, that the life of a dry grinder scarcely averages thirty-five years, whilst that of a wet grinder is seldom prolonged to more than forty-five years. The bent posture and pressure on the stomach aggravate the evil. Fork-grinding is the most pernicious, because it is done dry, and a great deal more of the steel has to be ground off. Dr Knight states that he cannot better express how injurious grinding is to the health than by stating, that “they who are the greatest drinkers among the grinders are sometimes the longest lived, owing to their more frequent absence from their work.”

‘582. Dust flues, in the state of perfection to which they have now been brought, appear to be capable of greatly diminishing if not of entirely obviating the evil. The Sheffield grinders cannot, however, be induced to avail themselves of this security; they know that they are doomed to an early death, yet they are absolutely unwilling that the evil to which they are exposed should in any degree be lessened; they regard every precaution to prolong life with jealousy, as a means of increasing the supply of labour and lowering wages; they are for “a short life and a merry one,” and hence, even when the masters are at the expense of erecting the apparatus, these men refuse to use it, and even frequently kick it down and break it under their feet.”—(*Ibid. Evidence.*)

As to the moral state of this class of work-people, the Report speaks thus.—(*Second Report*, p. 176–178.)

‘933. The moral and religious state of the children and young persons employed in the trades and manufactures of Birmingham, is described by the Sub-commissioner as very unfavourable. The social and domestic duties and affections are but little cultivated and practised; great numbers never attend any place of religious worship; and of the state of juvenile crime some conception may be formed from the statement, that of the total number of known or suspected offenders in this town, during the last twelve months, namely 1223, at least one-half were under fifteen years of age.

‘934. As to illicit sexual intercourse, it seems to prevail almost universally, and from a very early period of life: to this conclusion witness of every rank give testimony.

‘936. WOLVERHAMPTON.—Of the moral condition of the youthful population in the Wolverhampton district, Mr Horne says—“Putting together all I elicited from various witnesses and conversations with working people, abroad and at home, and all that fell under my observation, I am obliged to come to the conclusion, that the moral virtues of the great majority of the children are as few in number and as feeble in practice as can well be conceived of those who are born in a civilized country, surrounded by religious and educational institutions, and by individuals anxious for the improvement of the condition of the

working classes." He adds of Willenhall—"A lower condition of morals, in the fullest sense of the term, could not, I think, be found. I do not mean by this that there are many more prominent vices among them, but that moral feelings and sentiments do not exist among them. They have no morals."

'940. SHEFFIELD.—In all the Sheffield trades employing large numbers of children, it is stated that there is a much closer intermixture of the younger children with the elder youths, and with the men, than is usual in the cotton, woollen, and flax factories; and that the conversations to which the children are compelled to listen, would debase their minds and blunt their moral feelings even if they had been carefully and virtuously educated, but that of course this result takes place more rapidly and completely in the case of those who have had little or no religious culture, and little but bad example before their eyes from their cradle upwards.

'943. Habits of drinking are formed at a very early age, malt liquor being generally introduced into the workshops, of which the youngest children are encouraged to partake. "Very many," say the police officers, "frequent beer-shops, where they play at dominoes, bagatelle, &c., for money or drink." Early intemperance is assigned by the medical men as one cause of the great mortality of Sheffield. "There are beer-houses," says the Rev Mr Farish, "attended by youths exclusively, for the men will not have them in the same houses with themselves. In these beer-houses the youth of both sexes are encouraged to meet, and scenes destructive of every vestige of virtue or morality ensue."

'945. But it is stated by all classes of witnesses, that "the most revolting feature of juvenile depravity in this town is early contamination from the association of the sexes;" that "juvenile prostitution is exceedingly common." "The evidence," says the Sub-commissioner, "might have been doubled which attests the early commencement of sexual and promiscuous intercourse among boys and girls."

'953. SEDGLEY.—At Sedgley and the neighbouring villages, the number of girls employed in nail-making considerably exceeds that of the boys. Of these girls Mr Horne reports—"Their appearance, manners, habits, and moral natures, (so far as the word *moral* can be applied to them,) are in accordance with their half-civilized condition. Constantly associating with ignorant and depraved adults and young persons of the opposite sex, they naturally fall into all their ways; and drink, smoke, swear, throw off all restraint in word and act, and become as bad as a man. The heat of the forge and the hardness of the work render few clothes needful in winter; and in summer, the six or seven individuals who are crowded into these little dens find the heat almost suffocating. The men and boys are usually naked, except a pair of trousers and an open shirt, though very often they have no shirt; and the women and girls have only a thin ragged petticoat, and an open shirt without sleeves."

Lace-Making.—In this occupation it is proved, by unquestioned evidence, that it is *customary* for children to begin to work at the age of four, five, and six years; and instances were found in which a child only *two* years old was set to work by

the side of its mother. The work is of course very slight, but is trying to the eyes. The Sub-commissioner, after detailing a case, says—

‘ 58. In this case, if the statement of the mother be correct, one of her children, four years of age, works twelve hours a-day with only an interval of a quarter of an hour for each meal at breakfast, dinner, and tea, and never going out to play : and two more of her children, one six and the other eight years of age, work in summer from 6 A.M. till dusk, and in winter from seven in the morning till ten at night, fifteen hours.

‘ 59. This family is singular only in the children being set to work at the ages of two or three. It is common in this district for children to commence work at four, five, and six ; the evidence renders this fact indubitable.’—(*Second Rep.* p. 10.)

The following extracts relate to the hours of work in the lace trade :—

‘ 336. In the Nottingham, Leicester, and Derby districts, partly from the causes just assigned, and partly from the dissipated habits of the workmen, “the hours of labour are so extremely irregular that it is impossible to speak of them with exact precision.” The hand-machines, especially the wide machines, are usually double-handed ; some very large ones have three men each ; the men work such machines by “spells for shifts.” The most common time is sixteen, eighteen, and occasionally twenty hours. “However long,” adds the Sub-commissioner, “may be the hours during which the machines are propelled, even for the whole twenty-four, either by hand or power, there are scarcely ever two complete sets of threaders.”

‘ 341. Mr William Hinde, aged twenty-nine, operative—“ Among the small masters, who have each one or two machines, it is the custom for one set of children to work for two or three masters. The masters often live a long way from each other ; children have often to go one or two miles. They are always wanted when the machine comes off, whatever may be the hour of the day or night ; they are required just as much by night as by day, unless the men will accommodate the children, which is very rarely done, especially when trade is good. When there has been a good pattern, and the machine in constant use, the children ‘have scarcely a bit of peace,’ they have no regular time for meals, ‘no time for nothing ;’ when one machine is off, another is on. Was himself formerly a threader, and then a winder. Has often gone at six in the morning, and has had no time to get any thing to eat, except a mouthful now and then, till three or four in the afternoon. It is the same now, when trade is good. The children have no regular time for meals ; they have their food sent to them, and they eat when they can ; some have nothing but a bit of bread. There is no more regular time for sleeping than for eating ; the children often lie down ‘in the middle of the shop floor, when it is warm.’ Thinks hundreds have been sent to the grave by this work. It is enough to kill the children, going half fed and clothed to work in the night, at this time of the year. (The thermometer last night was 102°.)”—(*Second Rep.* pp. 56-9.)

Of course, work of this nature, for such hours, and at such an

early age, cannot but be followed by deplorable consequences to health in after life, as well as to moral character. Accordingly the Commissioners report.—(II., p. 109, 110, 181.)

‘598. From the nature of their occupation, the long and irregular hours of work, the frequency of night-work, and the insufficient time allowed for meals—an evil of the greatest magnitude in the case of growing children—the constitution is frequently seriously impaired. “The majority of the children whom I saw,” says the Sub-commissioner, “were pale and unhealthy-looking, and several were of diminutive stature. The health and sight are often greatly impaired, especially among the runners, who occasionally faint while at work; indeed, there cannot be an occupation which more seriously deteriorates the constitution. Short-sightedness, amaurosis, distortion of the spine, excessive constitutional debility, indigestion, and derangement of the uterine functions, may be said to be almost universal: all the evidence points to this conclusion.”

“In the town of Nottingham,” says Mr Grainger, “all parties, clergy, police, manufacturers, work-people, and parents, agree that the present mode of employing children and young persons as threaders and winders, is a most fertile source of immorality. There can, in fact, be but few states more immediately leading to vice and profligacy. Children of both sexes are called out of their parents’ houses at all hours of the night, and, as it is quite uncertain how long they may be required, whether for two hours or the whole night, a ready and unanswerable excuse for staying out is furnished, (No. 138.)

‘The moral condition of the lace-makers in Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Beds., and Bucks, is stated by Major Burns to be extremely low, and prostitution is rife among them, from their scanty earnings, their love of finery, and the almost total absence of early moral culture. (Report: App. Pt. I., p. A. 12, s. 104.)’

Millinery and Dressmaking.—The portion of these instructive volumes which describes the condition of the young women employed as milliners and mantua-makers in our great cities, and especially in London, is, however, that which has left the most painful impression upon our minds—not only because the work of these unfortunate girls is of all the most severe and unremitting—nor because it is inflicted exclusively upon the weaker sex, and at a period of life the most susceptible of injury from overstrained exertion—nor yet because the actual consequences which are shown to ensue in thousands of cases are so peculiarly deplorable—but because the excess of labour (with all its pernicious and fatal results) is endured in the service, and inflicted in execution of the orders, of a class whose own exemption from toil and privation should make them scrupulously careful not to increase, causelessly or selfishly, the toils and privations of their less favoured fellow-creatures—a class, too, many of whom have been conspicuously loud in denouncing the cruelties of far

more venial offenders, and in expressing a somewhat clamorous and overacted sympathy with sufferings which cannot for a moment be compared in severity with those which are every day inflicted on the helpless of their own sex, in ministering to their own factitious and capricious wants. The remark may appear harsh, but the evidence before us fully warrants it—that probably in no occupation whatever—not in the printing fields of Lancashire—not in the lace trade of Nottingham—not in the collieries of Scotland—scarcely in the workshops of Willenhall—most assuredly not in the cotton factories of Manchester, (which a few years ago the fashionable fair of London were so pathetic in lamenting)—can any instances of cruelty be met with which do not ‘whiten in the shade’ of those which every spring and autumn season sees practised—unreprobated, and till now nearly unknown—in the *millinery establishments* of the metropolis.

The following extracts will show that we are guilty of no exaggeration.—(II., p. 114–122.)

‘622. It is estimated that there are in London, in the millinery and dressmaking business, at least 1500 employers, and that the number of young people engaged by each employer varies from two or three to twenty-five or thirty-five—the average in each establishment being about ten, making in the whole 15,000; but this does not include journeywomen who work at their own houses, of whom also there are great numbers.

‘623. In some of what are considered the best-regulated establishments, during the fashionable season, occupying about four months in the year, the regular hours of work are fifteen, but on emergencies, which frequently recur, these hours extend to eighteen.* In many establishments the hours of work, during the season, are unlimited, the young women never getting more than six, often not more than four, sometimes only three, and occasionally not more than two hours for rest and sleep out of the twenty-four; and very frequently they work all night.

‘625. Miss O’Neil, Welbeck Street, an employer, says—“In the spring season the hours of work are unlimited. The common hours are from six A.M. till twelve at night—sometimes from four A.M. till twelve. Has herself often worked from six A.M. till twelve at night for two or three months together. It is not at all uncommon, especially in the dressmaking, to work all night; just in the “drive of the season,” the work is occasionally continued all night three times a-week. Has worked herself twice in the week all night. In some houses which profess to study the health of their young people, they begin at four A.M. and leave off at eleven P.M., never earlier. Has heard there are houses in London which work on Sundays.

‘628. Miss ———, manager—“has been ten years a ‘first hand,’ which signifies the party who takes the superintendence of the business, as overlooker of the young persons, cutter-out of the work, &c. The

common hours of business, are from eight A.M. till eleven P.M. in the winter; in the summer from six or half-past six A.M. till twelve at night. During the fashionable season, that is from April to the end of July, it frequently happens that the ordinary hours are greatly exceeded: if there is a drawing-room, or grand fete, or mourning to be made, it often happens that the work goes on for twenty hours out of the twenty-four, occasionally all night. Every season in at least half the houses of business, it happens that the young persons occasionally work twenty hours out of the twenty-four, twice or thrice a-week. On special occasions, such as drawing-rooms, general mournings, and very frequently wedding orders, it is not uncommon to work all night; has herself worked twenty hours out of the twenty-four for three months together; at that time she was suffering from illness, and the medical attendant remonstrated against the treatment she received. He wished witness to remain in bed at least one day longer, which the employer objected to, required her to get up, and dismissed the surgeon. It frequently happened that the work was carried on till seven o'clock on Sunday morning. If any particular order was to be executed, as mournings or weddings, and they left off on Saturday night at eleven, they worked the whole of Sunday; thinks this happened fifteen times in the two years. In consequence of working so late on Sunday morning, or all that day occasionally, could very rarely go to church, indeed it could not be thought of, because they generally rested in bed."

'639. The correctness of these representations is confirmed, among others, by the following medical witnesses:—Sir James Clark, Bart., Physician to the Queen—"I have found the mode of life of these poor girls such as no constitution could long bear. Worked from six in the morning till twelve at night, with the exception of the short intervals allowed for their meals, in close rooms, and passing the few hours allowed for rest in still more close and crowded apartments—a mode of life more completely calculated to destroy human health could scarcely be contrived, and this at a period of life when exercise in the open air, and a due proportion of rest, are essential to the development of the system. Judging from what I have observed and heard, I scarcely believed that the system adopted in our worst-regulated manufactories can be so destructive of health as the life of the young dressmaker."

'647. "The protracted labour described above," says the Sub-commissioner, "is, I believe, quite unparalleled in the history of manufacturing processes. I have looked over a considerable portion of the Report of the Factory Commission, and there is nothing in the accounts of the worst-conducted factories to be compared with the facts elicited in the present enquiry. Gentlemen who, from their official situation, were well qualified to judge, have also stated, in answer to my questions, that they knew of no instance in which the hours of work were so long as those above stated."

'663. Of the general treatment and condition of these young people, the Sub-commissioner reports:—"The evidence of all parties establishes the fact that there is no class of persons in this country, living by their labour, whose happiness, health, and lives, are so unscrupulously sacri-

ficed as those of the young dressmakers. It may without exaggeration be stated, that, in proportion to the numbers employed, there are no occupations, with one or two questionable exceptions, such as needle-grinding, in which so much disease is produced as in dress-making, or which present so fearful a catalogue of distressing and frequently fatal maladies. It is a serious aggravation of all this evil, that the unkindness of the employer very frequently causes these young persons, when they become unwell, to conceal their illness from the fear of being sent out of the house; and in this manner, the disease often becomes increased in severity, or is even rendered incurable. Some of the principals are so cruel as to object to the young women obtaining medical assistance.”—(No. 626.)

We shall have a heartfelt satisfaction, if, by the wide diffusion which this Journal may give these lamentable, these revolting facts, we shall help to awaken some sympathy—some sister feelings—in the breasts of the more kindly and thinking class of our female readers; or some shame in the selfish hearts of those who unscrupulously minister to the tyrannical fancies of the unsuffering, the unthinking rich. How degrading it is to female feeling, and female character, that we experience some compensating comfort in turning from these monstrous pictures of female toil, unkind treatment, and neglected education, to the official statements which have been long before Parliament as to the condition of the work-people employed in cotton and woollen factories! *There*, it appears, the regular hours of labour are, for adults, *twelve* daily, and for children under thirteen, only *eight*; and that these hours are scarcely ever exceeded, and indeed cannot be exceeded without subjecting the owner to a heavy fine. The Commissioners further state, that ‘to the charge of cruelty brought against mill-owners they can give the most decided and unqualified denial. It is not only not true, but cannot generally be true. That individual instances of ill usage do occur, is doubtless true; and they will occur so long as man is actuated by human passions; but they are exceedingly rare, more rare indeed than in any other occupation in which children are employed.’—(*Factory Report*, Sub. D. 2.) The alleged unhealthiness of factory employment is proved to be a mere delusion by an overwhelming mass of testimony.*

* ‘In conclusion, then,’ (says the *Analysis of the Factory Report*, p. 16,) ‘it is proved by a preponderance of seventy-two witnesses against seventeen, that the health of those employed in cotton mills is nowise inferior to that in other occupations—and secondly, it is proved by tables drawn up by the secretary of a sick club, and by the more extensive tables of a London Actuary, that the health of the factory population is decidedly *superior* to that of the labouring poor otherwise employed.’

'The general tenor of all the medical reports in my possession, confirms Mr Harrison's view of the effect of factory labour on the health of the younger branches of working hands. *It is decidedly not injurious to health or longevity, compared with other employments.*—(*Reports of Inspectors of Factories; August 1834.*)

'It is gratifying to be able to state, that *I have not had a single complaint laid before me, either on the part of the masters against their servants, or of the servants against their masters; nor have I seen or heard of any instance of ill-treatment of children, or of injury to their health by their employment.*'—(*Report, L. Horner, Esq., 2d July 1834, p. 10.*)

'Not many would be employed, because there are few mill-owners who wish to have them before ten years of age; but in some branches of the cotton trade they would be employed at eight, or even younger; and as their occupation in the mills is so light as to cause no bodily fatigue, they would pass their eight hours there as beneficially for their health as at home; indeed, in most cases, far more so. Although they would get little, that little would be an object to many poor families.'—(*Ibid. July 21, 1834, p. 10.*)

Mr Saunders says—'It appears in evidence, that of all employments to which children are subjected, those carried on in factories are amongst the least laborious, and of all departments of in-door labour, amongst the least unwholesome.'—(*Report, l. p. 51.*)

It appears moreover, that, as far as could be ascertained, the state of education among the factory operatives, though far from what it ought to be, was, to say the least,* less deplorable than that of rural districts, and of other classes in towns; that great efforts had been made by many of the largest manufacturers for the intellectual and moral improvement of their work-people;—and that 'as to the immorality said to be engendered by the factory system, the whole current of testimony goes to show, that the charges made against cotton factories on this head are calumnies.'—(*Report, Supp. p. 201*)

It is not however wholly, or even principally, with the view of doing justice to a calumniated class, that we have laid before our readers the foregoing statement of the evils and abuses which prevail in most of the great industrial occupations of this country; but for the sake of pointing out how lamentably partial and insufficient are all the remedies hitherto proposed; and of enforcing the conclusion, that any legislative enactments honestly designed to eradicate the mischiefs we lament, must be directed, not to prohibit them, but to remove the tempta-

tions which have led to them, and to alter the circumstances which have facilitated their introduction, and nourished their growth.

Our great error—wherein may be found the secret of all our past failures—has been the neglect of this simple principle. It is the chief defect and misfortune of our present course of public business, that official and responsible men are too much overwhelmed by necessary labour, to undertake any that is not necessary—to examine any question, or amend any evil, that is not forced upon their attention by public clamour. The initiation of every measure of improvement or reform is, in consequence, left to individual activity or zeal. Hence it is that no reforms are systematic, consistent, or pervading. Every thing is fragmentary, and partial. We are for ever putting a new piece into an old garment. Some one particular point in our economical, social, or jurisprudential system, appears to some benevolent individual to be a monstrous and disreputable evil; he speaks or writes about the subject till public attention is aroused, and public sympathy excited; and he then brings a bill, or gets one brought into parliament, to forbid a practice or abolish an abuse which is, in fact, *only part of a bad system*, and which has its origin in causes which he never sought for, and which are therefore left in as active operation as before. In this way we proceed for years, till our reforming legislation becomes a mass of anomalous, contradictory, confused enactments. Mr Plumptre brings in a bill to prohibit all Sunday amusements for the people—never once reflecting that the people amuse themselves on Sunday because it is the only day on which they have any leisure for amusement,—and because their education has been so scandalously neglected by those who presumptuously call themselves its ‘accredited guardians,’ that idle pastime is their only mode of disposing of a leisure hour. Mr Buckingham proposes a law to prohibit drunkenness by penalties and high duties on spirits—forgetting that people get drunk in nine cases out of ten, because ignorance and misery have left them no other solace. The late Mr Sadler and others, struck with the apparent hardships of employing young children in factories, introduced and procured the passing of their prohibitory enactments—too prejudiced, or too unthinking to consider that the necessities of poverty would drive these children, when excluded from healthy and well-governed *mills*, into unhealthy and unregulated *mines*. And last year, Lord Ashley, a most humane nobleman—pained by the horrors brought to light by the reports of the Commission, but too impatient calmly to investigate causes, and incapable, we fear, of ascending to a

general principle—brought forward his measure for excluding both women and children from coal-mines,—a desirable result, no doubt, considered in itself, but which (if an isolated measure, and unaccompanied by a removal of those necessities which drive them into coal-mines) can only end in subjecting them to privations and misery yet more severe, and compelling them into habits and modes of life still more deplorable.

What further topical applications of the same nature may be suggested to the Legislature, by the painful disclosures of which we have just given a brief account, will probably be seen ere long ; but if their interference is to be really serviceable, it must take a wider range, and be conducted in a more philosophical spirit, than has yet been exemplified in these well-meaning labours.

It is quite true that the hours of labour, and the general condition of children in factories, were, and perhaps still are, capable of much amelioration ;—it is true that the case of those employed in calico-printing, lace-making, pin-heading, &c., calls far more imperatively for amendment ;—the situation of women and children in collieries we admit to be lamentable in the extreme ;—the young are every where called to labour too early, and compelled to labour too long ;—the condition of the 15,000 milliners' apprentices in London is miserable past expression ;—while a large proportion of the agricultural labourers are in a state of bondage scarcely less degrading and intolerable than that of Russian serfs.* But all these sad truths are only so many clear symptoms—so many inevitable consequences—of the two grand social maladies of England—the *ignorance* and the *redundancy* of our population ; or, to speak more correctly, the neglect of popular instruction, and the limitation of the field of employment by corrupt and selfish laws.

And, to our feelings, there is a sad and bitter savour of hypocrisy in the conduct which, of late years, every session has witnessed, of a Legislature steadily refusing either to educate the people, or to remove the fetters it has imposed upon their industry—and at the same time issuing forth its anathemas against those abuses which spring, *solely and directly*, from fettered industry and neglected education. Every fresh fact—every succeeding day—confirms the conclusions of its predecessor,—that *want of instruction*, and *want of employment*, lie at the root of all the

* See the description of the 'gang system,' in the official Report on the employment of women and children in Agriculture. This Report we shall probably return to hereafter.

remediable evils in the social condition of the people. Yet this want of instruction we refuse to remove,*—this want of employment we persist in maintaining. We enact ignorance, yet prohibit vice. We enact poverty, yet prohibit modes of earning food, to which nothing but poverty would drive any mortal. With one hand we hold out irresistible temptations—with the other we hold out penalties for yielding to them. The simple state of the case is this:—If the demand for labour were as ample and as steady as it certainly would be under a system of unshackled industry and unrestricted commerce; and if the remuneration of that labour were as sufficient for comfortable maintenance as it would be, when laid out by a sober, frugal, well-instructed people—the evils against which we are directing our piecemeal and fitful legislation would vanish of themselves. A well-educated man, (using the epithet in its just and attainable sense,) if his own earnings were adequate to his family's support, would not send his child into the print-works, or the lace-trade, at a tender age; nor would he allow it to work for unreasonable hours. He would not permit his wife or his daughters to labour in a coal-mine at any age, nor for any hours, whatever;—and under no temptation would he send his child to be worked into blindness or consumption, in the dressmaking establishments of our vain, fantastic, and luxurious metropolis.

The melancholy truth is forced upon us from every side, that all occupations are overstocked; that the labour market is not sufficiently extensive for the number of labourers who crowd into it; that the industrial departments of this active and ingenious country—vast and various as they are—are yet inadequate for the comfortable maintenance of all who wish to be employed, and who must live by their employment;—and that the expansion and multiplication of these is, therefore, our grand *desideratum*. This is not the case with labourers and artisans alone. The first and most liberal professions feel the same difficulty, and make the same complaint. The shopkeepers and tradesmen, whose daughters can find no lucrative opening for their industry but the slavery of shirt-making or millinery—and the farmer, whose sons degenerate into ploughmen, and compress ploughmen into paupers,—all alike groan under the pressure. The colliers say that they *must* employ their children in the pits, however reluctant they may be, 'for they do not get wages enough to provide meat for themselves.'—(*Phy-*

* We cannot seriously consider the annual vote of L.30,000, as even approaching any thing like a real exemption from this national reproach.

sical Condition, p. 14.) A girl says—'was at service, but father persuaded her to go below, (into the mine;) much prefers service, but father needs her earnings.'—(*Ibid.* p. 50.) John Duncan, collier, says—'It must be admitted that children are sadly overwrought; have always been sorry when two of my own wrought hard; still I had need of their help, although not nine years of age.'—(*Ibid.* p. 50.)* In the lace and hosiery manufactures at Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, which for years have been in a state of deplorable depression, we have seen that the children are set to work even before they are four years old. 'In these districts (say the Commissioners) the wages in all branches of the lace trade are wholly insufficient to afford a decent living.'—(*Second Report*, p. 95) In the hosiery trade, 'for some years the hours have become longer, and the wages less.'—(P. 112.) This is all too true;—and as long as it continues to be the case—as long as the labour of children is required to make out the insufficiency of their parent's earnings, so long will that labour be enforced; and any effectual prohibition of it will not only be a mistaken charity—as inflicting severer privation than it supersedes—but will be a flagrant and cruel injustice. To enact, or to maintain, laws which make the inordinate labour of children essential to the sustenance of their half-famished parents, and then to forbid this labour—is surely the very wantonness of despotic power. Our legislators cannot unite the pleasures of benevolence with the profits of oppression. They cannot combine the luxury of doing good with the emoluments of doing evil.

In many cases, however, in which the earnings of the parents are indisputably sufficient, under good management, to support their families in comfort, it is nevertheless true that they employ their children too early, and too long. This is frequent in many of the coal districts of England and Wales—in calico-printing, and in many branches of metallic manufactures. Here the cause of the evil is not so much poverty, as that want of domestic skill, that ignorance, dissipation, and insensibility to social duties, which an early and sound education could scarcely fail to have prevented. Where an operative has been well brought up, nothing but the actual pressure of want will drive him to extract subsistence from the hard-earned wages of his children. Where he has not had this advantage, and where careless, drunken, and unfeeling habits have in consequence obtained the mastery, he will have no scruples, and little compas-

* Also *Second Report*, p. 13.

sion; and legislative interference cannot instil them, and can do but little to guard against the evils arising from their absence. It is vain and childish to allow a population to grow up in uncultivated barbarism; and then to demand from it the foreseeing and forbearing virtues which only education can engender.

Again, the same earnings which, in the hands of a clever, frugal, and managing housewife, would be adequate to a family's support, and would therefore enable them to dispense with the early labour of the younger members—will be wholly insufficient for this purpose, when laid out with that clumsy unthrift which characterises women who have had no opportunity of learning that most essential part of their duties—a knowledge of household economy. Many families live in comfort and respectability upon the same amount of earnings which leaves others in squalid misery. We earnestly request attention to the following remarks of the Commissioners,* (II. p. 174,) which long acquaintance with the labouring classes enables us fully to confirm.

‘ The early removal of female children from girls’ day-schools, and from home, to be placed at labour, prevents them from learning needle-work, and from acquiring those habits of cleanliness, neatness, and order, without which they cannot, when they grow up to womanhood and have the charge of families of their own, economise their husband’s earnings, or give to his home any degree of comfort. This general want of the qualifications of a housewife in the women of this class, is stated by clergymen, teachers, medical men, employers, witnesses, and all others, in all the districts, to be one great and universally prevailing cause of poverty and crime among the working classes.

‘ 928. Among innumerable other statements to the same effect, the following may serve to show the prevalent feeling on this subject:—
“ The employment of females during childhood prevents them from forming the domestic habits usually acquired by women in their station, and renders them less fit than those whose early years have not been spent in labour for performing the duties of wives and mothers. The slenderness of the stock of domestic knowledge possessed by the females, is attested by all parties. When they come to be wives and mothers, the consequences are very injurious to the husband and children, from the want of management in the outlay of the earnings; from the expense entailed in paying for work which ought to be done at home; and from the coarse and insufficient culinary processes, adopted through ignorance of better methods. The very slight knowledge of culinary work possessed by the young women, leads to a crude and coarse preparation of food, which is one cause of the disorders of the stomach.”

Instead, then, of any longer contenting ourselves, and soothing our consciences, with idly nibbling at the outskirts of a vast and growing mischief in our social state,—let us have the cou-

rage and the candour to go at once to the origin of the evil—to strike at the source of that malady which has so long withered up both the physical energies and the moral virtues of our people. Let us unfetter the springs of the national industry, in the full confidence that, if we do so, it has an expansive elasticity within it, sufficient to absorb into profitable employment all those numbers whom it is now the fashion to consider as redundant. That, under a system of unrestricted freedom, the field of employment is capable of this indefinite enlargement, is the conviction of all the best informed of our Practical Economists;—and the few who differ from this opinion will allow, that the Colonization to which they look as a subsidiary relief, will be most safely and beneficially conducted, when left to the operation of natural motives on an intelligent and instructed people.

But the education requisite to effect the change desired in the character and habits of the people, must be of a sounder and more liberal kind than any which we have yet seen proposed. That the cultivation of religious feelings, the explanation of religious truth, and the inculcation of moral and social duties, must form a large—perhaps the largest—portion of its objects, we fully admit. But we think that considerable misapprehension prevails as to the nature and objects of that *secular* education which ought to be diffused as widely as possible, and which is essential to the well-being of society. It is no doubt of the utmost importance to open to the labouring classes the sources of a variety of knowledge, in order that intellectual gratifications may be placed within their reach; and we believe, indeed we know, that there are many among them in whose minds the beauties of nature, the wonders of science, and the curiosities of other lands, excite an interest sufficient to conquer the attractions of sensuality or sloth. But when we reflect how few can be found in *any* class who habitually prefer intellectual gratification to the allurements of animal indulgence, it seems scarcely reasonable to anticipate, from mere school instruction, such an effect upon the great mass of our operative population. We have, however, a right to expect a far more direct and powerful influence upon their habits, from a system of education which should include the science and practice of household management in the course of female tuition; and which should, in early life, thoroughly imbue the other sex with a distinct and familiar conception of those principles of social economy which will enable them to take a just view of their own position in the community; and to comprehend the nature and operation of those various agencies which influence, for good or evil, the condition of the class to which they belong. A knowledge of the laws which regulate wages—

the relation of population to subsistence—and the state and prospects of our different colonies—if widely diffused, and thoroughly impressed upon the working classes, would, in the course of a few years, go far, not only to remove many of the most active causes of their misery, but to preclude all reasonable ground for that alarm which recent events have so powerfully excited, and which cannot fail to be experienced by the wealthy and luxurious, when surrounded by ignorant and suffering multitudes. Men instructed upon these points, would never, like the hand-loom weavers, be guilty of the egregious folly of bringing up child after child to their own occupation—an occupation which they know to be already overstocked, and to be doomed to certain and speedy extinction. Men instructed upon these points would be able to estimate how insignificant is the profit they derive from the daily labour of their wives in coal-mines and in factories; when set against its certain consequences—the absence of all good household management, the destruction of domestic comfort, and the neglected health and education of their children. Men thus instructed would never have wasted months of time, and millions of money, in *strikes* and *cutbreaks* at once mischievous and futile—mischievous, because involving severe suffering and great social disorganization, and sowing the seeds of permanent ill-will—futile, because commonly directed against the inevitable operation of natural laws. Men thus instructed would scarcely waste, as often as they now do, in ignoble and injurious indulgence, those ample earnings which—otherwise employed—might purchase comfort and independence, and frequently an advance into a higher station. And men thus instructed would never endure, year after year, the extremity of misery at home, when a moderate exertion of energy would ensure them plenty and repose in our colonial possessions. It may be added, too, that men so instructed would never have committed the singular and disreputable blunder of thwarting, from the misconceptions of a groundless jealousy, all the efforts of the class immediately above them, to procure extended commerce and abundant food.

- ART. VI.—1. *Aus der Gesellschaft, Novelle.* Von (From Society, a Novel, by) IDA, Gräfin (Countess) HAHN-HAHN. 8vo. Berlin: 1838.
2. *Der Rechte*, (The Right One.) Von IDA, Gräfin HAHN-HAHN. 8vo. Berlin: 1839.
3. *Gräfin Faustine.* Von IDA, Gräfin HAHN-HAHN. 8vo. Berlin: 1840.
4. *Ulrich.* Von IDA, Gräfin HAHN-HAHN. 2 vols. 8vo. Berlin: 1841.
5. *Sigismund Forster.* Von IDA, Gräfin HAHN-HAHN. 8vo. Berlin: 1843.
6. *Cecil.* Von IDA, Gräfin HAHN-HAHN. 2 vols. 8vo. Berlin: 1843.

IT is a remarkable fact, that, out of the fourteen or fifteen thousand living authors of Germany, not one (if we except Tieck, who belongs to the last generation) has obtained any thing approaching to an European reputation, or given decided proofs of originality, as a novelist. Rich in historians, fertile in critics, abounding in metaphysicians, and overflowing with thinkers, (or gentlemen who think that they are thinking,) the whole Confederation has proved, during the last quarter of a century, utterly unable to produce a prose writer of fiction, who does not turn out, on nice inspection, to be an imitator;—to have belonged, from his her first conception, to some one of the established schools, historical, metaphysical, or romantic; and kept constantly though unconsciously in mind, some one of the great masters or master-pieces—in nine cases out of ten, Scott or Goethe—*Wilhelm Meister* or *Waverley*. At last, however, we have found one who draws exclusively on her own resources, rises proudly superior to authority, holds on her course in entire disregard or forgetfulness, as well of the examples set by her predecessors as of the rules laid down by her contemporaries; and, as may be guessed, is utterly unlike all or any of her countrymen or countrywomen, who, to our knowledge, have hitherto risked themselves in print.

Ida, Countess Hahn-Hahn, is, both by birth and marriage, a member of the Mecklenburg family of Hahn, which begins with a distinguished founder in the dark ages, and boasts nine or ten centuries of unsullied nobility. When very young, she married

her cousin, but was divorced soon afterwards, on her own application, on the ground of alleged infidelity on the part of the husband. She has lived a good deal in most of the German capitals—mixing chiefly with the class to which she naturally belongs; and she has visited most of the principal countries of Europe, in company with the attached friend to whom *Faustine* is dedicated. She has one child, a girl of fifteen or sixteen. She herself is about five-and-thirty, or a little more. Two or three years ago she had the misfortune to lose an eye, through (as she asserts in her *Reisebriefe*) the ignorance or inattention of the operator. The leading events of her life are mentioned, because her style of thought is palpably modified by them; and because her individuality, so to speak, is constantly presented to the mind of the reader, though without the ordinary repelling effect of egotism.

Madame Hahn-Hahn is already the author of six novels, three books of travels, and a little dramatic poem which she is pleased to call an *Arabesque*. It is our present purpose to consider her exclusively as a novelist; but we must begin by apologizing for the term.

Towards the end of her second work, she complains that the word, *novelle*, was added by the publisher without her leave to the title-page of her first. 'As I write no novels, I do not choose to usurp the title, and this book must try to make its way without it. I hope it will not be valued the less on that account; for I do not make the disclaimer out of modesty.' If this be so, we are unable to guess why she disclaims at all; for the only peculiarity which distinguishes such a book as *Aus der Gesellschaft*, or *Der Rechte*, from the ordinary run of novels, (always excepting their intrinsic merit,) is the comparative carelessness of the writer regarding plot, which is hardly a subject of self-congratulation. But we will not quarrel with the lady about a word; there strikes us to be as much action, (unity of action, too,) and as studied, careful, complete development of character in her best fictions, as in many whose title to be called novels no one ever dreamed of questioning; but undoubtedly it will be most favourable to her, and equally agreeable to us, to consider them as a series of studies on the feelings; or a succession of characters and situations illustrative of the great problems of domestic life—its pains, pleasures, mutability, discontent—the waywardness of the affections, the inconstancy of the imagination, the insufficiency of all things human to satisfy the eternal cravings of the heart. Considered in this point of view, it would be difficult to form an undue estimate of their merit; so well chosen, and at the same time so

varied, are both scenes and actors. In one of her single volume books, there are seldom less than four or five sets of people making each other happy or miserable, yet no two of them bring about the proposed result in the same manner. As for heroes and heroines, she can hardly be said to have any; and she has so little turn for melodramatic display, that it is only when the story is drawing to a conclusion, and some show of unity is imperatively required, that she places her men and women in marked contrast, or attempts to throw them into groups. They talk more than they act, and feel more than they talk; for her strength consists in tracing the influence of time, place, and circumstance upon the heart. She delights to combat the notion that the affections can be subjected to the will, and is never more at home than when expounding the *rationale* of change, or suggesting excuses for inconstancy.

The scenes are laid in the higher orders of society, and almost all her characters, with the exception of a stray Artist or so, are taken from them. We have heard her blamed on this account, and accused of undue fastidiousness; but there strikes us to be no foundation for the charge. It was quite natural that she should take the materials immediately within her reach, especially when these were best adapted to her main purpose—the frank and full exposure of the moral maladies peculiar to persons of her own rank, with a view to the patient endurance of them; for she holds out small prospect of a cure. She moves too easily and habitually amongst her '*Hoch-Wohlgebornen*' to produce even a momentary impression resembling that left by the authors of our 'silver-fork' school; and although she is evidently attached to aristocratical institutions, we have discovered no traces of what can fairly be designated as illiberality. The native nobility of mind is never refused a place alongside of the conventional nobility of birth; genius is mentioned as the universal leveler: knowledge, refinement, and self-respect, as the best titles to consideration in society. In fact, her tone and manner, as well as her selection and treatment of subjects, are precisely those of a high-bred gentlewoman; and it is by no means an insignificant, though incidental, recommendation of her books, that we collect from them a sufficient knowledge of the habits, tastes, feelings, and opinions of the German *noblesse*, conveyed in the mode least open to suspicion—*i. e.* unconsciously. We have a theory, that no one who enters a country for the express purpose of describing it, sees things in their proper natural relation to each other; and as most of the authors of what are called 'fashionable novels' never get beyond the precincts, they are still more liable to fall into exaggerations and mistakes than travellers.

Another characteristic of this writer is, that she never wanders beyond the circle of private life into questions of government or legislation. This alone strikingly, and in our opinion not disadvantageously, distinguishes her from a writer who has not unfrequently been named with her. Madame Hahn-Hahn has been called the 'George Sand' of Germany; and that there are a few superficial points of analogy between her and Madame Dudevant, is undeniable. Both have written novels and travels; both have been unlucky in marriage: but here the parallel must stop. When we open their books and look a little below the surface, we find ample materials for contrast and none whatever for comparison.

To bring the two within the same category, we must begin by laying entirely out of the account Madame Dudevant's later productions, those of the mystical religious character; in many of which, mixed up with much that is obscure, wild, or faulty, it is impossible to help recognising a wonderful grasp of thought, combined with poetic power of a very high order. The parallel, if there is to be one, must rest on such books as 'Indiana,' 'Jacques,' and 'Lelia.' Now these are, for the most part, open or covert attacks on laws, rules, and observances of all sorts. When people are unhappy, it is rarely, according to her, that they have themselves to thank for it. It is some unequal law which depresses the poor—some artificial code of manners and morals which embarrasses the rich. All our suffering proceeds from causes which a more enlightened public opinion would remove; and even when individual hearts, minds, and dispositions, are in fault, their aberrations are attributed to the corruptions or false notions of society.

We bear willing testimony to the comprehensive views, the warm sympathies, the hatred of wrong, the thirst for truth, which distinguish all Madame Dudevant's books: nor are we prepared to say that she is altogether an immoral writer. Her ends are noble, though the means may be ill chosen; she raises and elevates, if she occasionally misleads; and she never loses sight of the best foundation of all morals—the importance of self-sacrifice, the necessity of mutual forbearance, the healing, soothing, peace-promoting virtue of charity. Still it is a dangerous doctrine to propound, that much of what the world calls crime may be nothing more than mistake or misfortune; and though prolonged and patient suffering exercises a strengthening, purifying effect upon the soul, it requires more of the esoteric philosophy than falls to the lot of many, to appreciate Lelia's meaning, when she silences her young admirer's scruples regarding her friend Trenmor by the remark—*Ecoutez, jeune homme, il a subi cinq ans de travaux forcés.*

There is nothing at all resembling this in Madame Hahn-Hahn. Her motto rather seems to be :

‘How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure.’

She feels as keenly as any man or woman of genius that ever lived, the frequent injustice of opinion; and at rare intervals, something like a despairing cry breaks from her, at the wearing, wasting monotony of life. But her settled conviction is, that the world is a place of trial, an arena on which the best and wisest are playing at cross-purposes; man never is, but always to be, blest. In youth we are unhappy, because we cannot anticipate the future; in more advanced age, because we cannot renovate the past; and it is a part of the inscrutable design of Providence, that reality should fall short of hope, and enjoyment end in satiety. She does not say that our hearts are desperately wicked, but she says that they are desperately fickle; instead of telling us to obey their capricious impulses, she expressly tells us to bridle them; and she inculcates the due discharge of the domestic duties as the best sedative for restlessness. Even the weak wavering Ulrich, the slave of passion, is not allowed the ordinary indulgence of attributing his loss of peace to the laws of marriage or the regulations of society.

“You have told me (says Ulrich, in a letter to a friend) that you have been acquainted with passion, but tell me, have you pursued it—or rather, has it pursued you—to the complete disorganization or paralysis of your being? Tell me, is it my unlucky peculiarity, or that of all men of sensibility, to be encircled and crushed by that boa? There are moments when I rise against myself, when I would fain shake off, at any cost, a yoke which my weakness has imposed upon me; for others shake it off. I am now in such a moment. My whole course of conduct appears to me unworthy and unmanly. I ask myself: Are there, then, no honours and duties, no merits and distinctions, no friends, male or female, in the world, with whom life may be passed suitably, reasonably and, so to speak, right pleasantly? Have I not my beautiful Malans* on the beautiful Rhine, sufficient for all the wants of domestic, as well as all the refinements of social life, full of recollections of my father, who loved and adorned it, because he had there spent many a happy year with my mother. Am I not myself married to a pretty, amiable woman, who requires nothing but a little attention on my part, to become the best of wives and the tenderest of mothers? Is it not inconceivable perversity, or criminal blindness, to possess so many elements of happiness, and not to be able so to order and govern them, as

* The name of a country-house.

to mould them into a firm, sure, complete happiness? Ought I not to collect myself once for all? take my heart to task, call in my wishes from their restless aimless wanderings, change my unattainable dreams of bliss for the attainable peaceful enjoyments of reality, and instantly return from the plains of the Don to the Rheingau and my home? Home, my friend—is not that a sweet name for a sweeter thing? Does not the foundation and keystone of all human exertion lie within the narrow limits of domesticity—in its kindly, cordial, contented, and yet widely-branching influence? Every other loosens the bonds between us and our fellows, because it isolates us in our egotism: let the love of glory, the thirst of knowledge, the pursuit of art, or even the loftiest ambition, boast as they may of their philanthropy, of their brotherhood with the human race, and their exertions in its cause. As for all those theoretical systems of philanthropy, which profess to establish amity with Hottentots and Esquimaux, and bring about cordiality between nations, while the founder hates and despises the individual men in his immediate neighbourhood, and harbours envy and jealousy within his own breast, I make no great account of them. The practical one of St Vincent de Paul, who took off the chains of the galley slaves, and bore them in their stead—that I can conceive, and the Saint was lucky in having hit upon it. I possess no such capability of self-sacrifice, and very few do. Since, however, no thorough improvement of character is possible, unless our charity and compassion, our patience and readiness for self sacrifice, are tried,—for this very reason a circle has been marked out for us, in which we may practise them for our own happiness, and, therefore, willingly and easily; namely, the family circle. Yes, God has ordered man's destiny easily and pleasingly! he places each of us before the entrance of a magic circle, full of such power and such beauty that egotism itself loses its ugly form within it, since it is there changed into a feeling which belongs to the *mine*, and no longer to the *I*. There is full contentment; reward in the sacrifice; blessing for the exertion; consolation hand-in-hand with care, and refreshment alongside of labour. Instead, now, of taking possession of this happiness without more ado, we look round, and consider whom we shall introduce into our paradise, and there may be one amongst ten thousand who does not demand from God an Eve after his own special ordering. See now, this demand thrusts us far away from the portal. Every thing assumes a different form; the kindly circle is changed into a prison, where intolerable burdens and miseries await us—into a rowing bench, on which two wretches are chained down, whose sufferings are turned into downright martyrdom by their compelled proximity. And all this because we never, or too late, meet with the individual woman whom we should wish to make our wife! Had God given us nothing but sound sense and understanding, this would never come to pass; and every sensible, pretty woman, would answer our expectations, and satisfy us. But, to our sorrow, we have also a heart; and that is not so easily satisfied. It is too tender, or too wilful—enough, it despises the simple domestic fare, and hungers for ambrosia. In this everlasting hunger it grows faint. Faintness of heart paralyzes the whole

machinery of existence. To this am I come. Do you understand this? I do not mean, have you thought about it, but have you lived it?"*

A woman, a weak one too, suffering from the same malady, writes thus:

"What states of mind and soul I have lived through! with what demons I have wrestled! what a languishing thirst for happiness at first; and what an aversion for the joys of the world at last came over me. Oh, there are no words for it! Yet who among us has not wrestled and suffered? who among us has not gone through the illusion-destroying, spirit-crushing process? who among us has not seen his altars tottering, and his idol tumbling from its throne? But, somewhere or other, there is a green oasis for us all! If it does not bloom in the present, it dawns in the future, or smiles mournfully from the past. He who is saddened by his recollections, throws himself boldly into the arms of hope or into the bewitching enjoyment of the moment; he who suffers from the world, takes refuge in a loving heart or in his own: he who cannot luxuriate in feeling, seeks relief in action; he who cannot find a resting point that satisfies him in things external, has a wide unbounded domain bestowed upon him by thought. Existence is an ever-blooming Eden for none; for most, it is a soil which they must laboriously build upon, a soil scattered over with wastes and rocks; yet the dry waste is sprinkled with sweet flowers, moss and ivy are entwined about the rock, and the fir-tree springs from its crevices. Vegetation plants itself every where, and develops life—*except in drift-sand.*"

As for our minor miseries, these also depend much upon ourselves; and a habit of self-examination, she thinks, will effectually remove most of them. When you are fretful, uneasy, desponding, without any assignable cause—or inclined to think yourself neglected by your friends, pause a moment and consider whether they have not as much reason to complain of you as you of them; whether you are not suffering from some chronic malady, moral or physical; whether you are not approximating to the state of Louis XIV. at that period of his life when Madame Maintenon complained, that she had to amuse a King who was no longer *amusable*.

Again, according to Madame Hahn-Hahn's theory, although it may not be in every one's power to be contented or constant, it is in every one's power to be true; and she has no mercy for any sort of trifling, mental sophistication, or deceit—

'This, above all, to thine own self be true;
And it must follow, as the light the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.'

Her severity in this respect may be estimated from a short

dialogue between the young artist Polydor and the Countess Schönhof, his patroness, in *Aus der Gesellschaft*:

“ But you will write to me often and much, won't you ? ”

“ That is as it may be. I can promise nothing beforehand, because I do not know whether I shall be able to keep my word.”

“ But you must know what you will do ? ”

“ No, for I do not know what may happen to me.”

“ It is, therefore, quite possible for you to forget me altogether in a new object or a new idea ? ”

“ No, but you may certainly be thrown into the background.”

“ Countess, you are dreadfully candid.”

“ If you would but speak the truth, you feel exactly the same.”

“ Possibly; but I do not say it to you.”

“ I, however, say it to you designedly, that you might not, young as you are, imagine yourself to be dearer to me than you are.”

“ Countess, why do you say such hard things to me ? ”

“ Because you are a man, my poor Polydor, consequently a little vain and confident. In every relation between men and women, I deem it best for both sides to know, as precisely and clearly as possible, what they are to one another; otherwise misunderstandings capable of giving great pain, may easily occur.”

We have said that allowances are made for passion, but we must limit the proposition. The indulgence extends no further than to the unconscious growth or progress of feeling; the moment ladies or gentlemen become aware of a guilty wish or forbidden liking, they must fly. No paltering with conscience, no tampering with duty, no references to Plato or his creed; judgment of instant separation is pronounced without appeal. Otto (in *Aus der Gesellschaft*) gives up Ilda. Margaret (in *Ulrich*) flies Ulrich. Ohlen (in *Der Rechte*) quits Vincenza for ever at her bidding. Renata (in *Cecil*) nobly resists temptation. In the few instances in which the bounds of duty are transgressed, the transgression is not defended; and the character (Faustine, for example) is described as an exceptionable one. It should also be added, that Madame Hahn-Hahn's respect for inconstancy originates in a conviction that the highest natures—generally the most imaginative and impressible—are incapacitated, by the law of their being, from resting satisfied with what they possess; or resisting the attractions of any new and unknown object, if it happens to bear a closer resemblance to the ideal image of grace and beauty which is ever moving before them with a glory round its head. Moreover, their minds and hearts are constantly advancing; and the same amount of excellence, or the same sort of sympathy, will no more suffice for them in their more advanced stages, than the pursuits of boyhood will satisfy the man. Still, this tendency

does not prevent them from throwing themselves, heart and soul, into their first grand passion ; and an adorer, after Madame Hahn-Hahn's own heart, would be more likely to be thought too devoted than the contrary. The required sentiment, seasoned with a spice of Wertherism, is embodied in some spirited verses printed in her first novel,* and we have therefore attempted a translation of them. It is as literal as we can make it ; but, as one of the innumerable translators of *Faust* has remarked, it is only by a lucky chance that a succession of simple heartfelt expressions or idiomatic felicities in one language, are ever capable of exact representation in another.

1

' If you'll be my own,
Then list to me now,
My love shall be shown
Long as fate will allow. •
All hours you shall hear it,
Or feel it, or see—
And if you can't bear it,
You do not love me.

2

' Thorn-tangled and wild,
And o'er rocks, is my path ;
Oh ! am I the child
Of God's favour or wrath ?
At times I feel riven—
So shatter'd, so drear—
And then, as if heaven
Were opening to cheer.

3

' The lark trills her note
Unseen and on high ;
The eagle will float
Alone in the sky.
Just so is my being ;
I pour out my lay
Unseen and unseeing,
And hover, as they.

4 .

' Right up tow'rds the sun
I soar, tempest-tost ;
And bliss has been won
Where peace has been lost.
Yet I grow calm, and care
Dies away at its birth,
As I bathe in the air
That's untainted by earth.

5

• ' Let the war-cries of life
Ring loud as they will,
Through the thick of the strife,
You must follow me still.
The shame you must bear,
Ay, make it your own ;
And the crown you must wear
As if born to a throne.

6

' If your soul is thus steel'd,
Self-sustain'd, self-possess'd,
Unable to yield,
And yet able to rest ;
Come to me—no shrinking—
I'll live on for you—
But if you stay thinking
One moment—Adieu.'

We have gradually wandered from our parallel ; but we must return to it, if only to mention one more difference, the most decided of the whole. Some gifted and many common-place women, feeling or thinking themselves fitted for a wider field of exertion than is ordinarily held compatible with the appropriate virtues of their sex, have murmured, or railed in good set terms at the alleged injustice of the restraints imposed on it ; and Madame Dudevant, not

satisfied with assuming a masculine name, and displaying (it must be owned) a masculine strength of understanding, has occasionally adopted the garb, together with a few of the distinctive habits, of the stronger sex. The *statuette* by which she is best known throughout Europe, represents her standing in an easy independent attitude, attired in pantaloons and a frock coat. Madame Hahn-Hahn, on the contrary, is thoroughly feminine in all her tastes, habits, feelings and modes of thought—in her weakness as well as in her strength; nor does she appear to have made up her mind that women are qualified to contend for the greater prizes in art, science, and philosophy. For example:

“Without pleasure in that which has been undertaken in good earnest, without devotion to it, satisfaction in it, triumph with it—nothing great was ever yet accomplished; and what is the quintessence of these feelings except inspiration? What else is the pulse of their life? Inspiration is the electric shock which runs through the chain of existence; and history shows that it is only received by men.”

“Only by men?” interrupted Faustine—“and the prophetesses of the Hebrews! and the Roman matrons who laughed at death! and the priestesses of the Germanic tribes! and the heroines of Saragossa!”

“I except the mere impulse. When a woman's heart is touched, when it is moved by love—be it for an individual, for her country, or for her God—then the electric spark is communicated, and the fire of inspiration flames up. But even then, woman desires no more than to suffer and die for what she loves. No woman was ever excited to the creating, controlling, world-lifting point: no, never; that is, never by inspiration. By intrigue, by caprice—likely enough; she amuses herself with these occasionally. But it never yet entered the mind of woman to make her lover immortal, like Petrarch's Laura and Dante's Beatrice. They do not even master art; much less science. That woman remains to be born who is capable of interesting herself for an abstract idea, to the extent of enduring chains and torture for its sake, like Galileo with his *e pur si muove*. We cannot so much as form a notion of a female Socrates.”—(*Faustine*, p. 149.)

She does not even maintain their superiority in matters of the heart.

“Under ordinary circumstances,” said Faustine, “we may be superior to men in tact and fineness of perception; but when a man loves—and this happens oftener than women are willing to allow—he enfolds the beloved one like a sensitive plant, and feels sooner, stronger, every dawning emotion, every shade of feeling, every growing thorn of disagreement, every swelling bud of happiness. But then he must love in good earnest.”—(*P. 177.*)

Enough has been said to distinguish Madame Hahn-Hahn from her celebrated cotemporary; and the course of the parallel has naturally led us to state the leading qualities of her style. We may now, therefore, proceed to a more detailed examination of her books; but it is only fair to say, that their great charm

consists in the succession of skilful touches by which characters are developed, and in the incidental topics or allusions by which attention is kept up. She seems to have followed the advice given by Mr Merryman to the poet in the Prologue to 'Faust.' 'Do but grasp into the thick of human life! Every one lives 'it—to not many is it known—and seize it where you will, it is 'interesting.' She scatters about so many traits of sensibility, so many poetic fancies, so much suggestive speculation on the subjects which come home to every one who has mixed in society; that, though few of them, taken individually, may be very profound or original, a highly pleasing impression is produced—somewhat resembling that (to borrow one of her own similes,) produced by the milky way upon the eye. 'The 'collective mass forms a luminous streak, every single minute 'point of which is a star; but no Orion, no Sirius, overpower-'ingly attracts the view.' She is just the sort of writer who must be read, and read carefully by a qualified reader, to be appreciated. We will do our best however, to convey as precise a notion of her as can be conveyed by extract or analysis, within the limits of an article.

Gräfin Faustine, the third on our list, is the book in which Madame Hahn-Hahn first put forth her full strength, and displayed her peculiar qualities. It is marked by more unity of purpose and compactness of plot, than *Aus der Gesellschaft* or *Der Rechte*; which, short as they are, are more than half made up of episodical narratives or detached scenes. It has also been said, and is currently believed, that *Gräfin Faustine*, and *Ida*, *Gräfin Hahn-Hahn*, are one and the same person.

The opening scene is laid at Dresden, on the terrace overlooking the river, where several young men are lounging and chatting, one fine afternoon in June. It was too early for the female promenaders.

'It was consequently the more remarkable that a woman, apparently belonging to the higher class, was seated on a bench, with her back towards the pavilion, undisturbed by the talking of the men, or the noise of the children. But it struck no one. She must therefore be somebody whom every one knew and no one minded. She was sketching diligently. A servant stood statue-like by her side, holding a parasol, so that neither a dazzling ray of light, nor the quivering shade of the leaves, might fall on the hand, eye, or paper, of his lady. Her large dark eye flew with keen quick glances hither and thither between the drawing and the landscape; and the delicate hand, relieved from the glove for the sake of greater fineness of touch, and careless of exposure to the air, skilfully followed the glance. She was completely buried in her occupation.'

The group of loungers were joined by one of their com-

panions, and a stranger, Count Mario Mengen, who had just been appointed Secretary of Embassy at Dresden—a distinguished-looking man in the prime of life.

“Why, there is actually the Countess Faustine sketching,” suddenly exclaimed the new comer, Feldern.

“But where is Andlau, then?” said another: “she has been nearly an hour here alone. I wonder that he consents to it.”

“That he endures it!” exclaimed another.

“Come, come,” said the ever kind Feldern, “they are not chained to one another.”

“Don't you believe, Feldern, that they are privately married?”

“No: for they might be openly married, if they chose.”

Whilst the conversation was proceeding, the lady rose and moved slowly away, greeting the men of her acquaintance with the air of a Queen as she went by.

“Who is the lady?” inquired Count Mengen eagerly.

“The very Countess Faustine we were speaking about.”

“A stranger?”

“Yes, but established here some years.”

“Married?”

“Has been”—“Perhaps”—“Not known”—“A widow”—resounded on all sides.

Mengen looked round. “You are joking.”

“Honour bright! we are speaking the simple truth.”

“The truest and simplest,” said Feldern, “is, notwithstanding, when we say that Countess Faustine Obernau is a widow.”

The scene changes to Faustine's house, where Baron Andlau is discovered, seated on an ottoman, in a fever of impatience for her return.

“Why does she not come?” said he to himself, “has any thing happened to her? Why did I not go with her? my headache would not have been worse. Why, above all, did I let her go out at this hour of the day!” He took his hat, and was going out to meet her, when he heard her step on the staircase. He sprang up and opened the door for her. The darkened room seemed to grow light as she entered. Faustine threw her bonnet on one table, her drawing-book on another, herself on a sofa, and exclaimed—

“My dear Anastasius, that will be a charming sketch! but I am tired—tired to death.”

“Why do you over-exert yourself so? Is it absolutely necessary that the sketch should have so hot a sun-glare?”

“Absolutely necessary!” said she. “Besides, I have already rested, and this very evening you must go over to Neustadt with me. I must learn exactly how the river and the churches look by moonlight.”

He hands her a letter containing an invitation from her sister-in-law:

“Well,” said Faustine, “a day or two sooner or later can't matter to you. Let us start the day after to-morrow. Together as far as Coburg;

then you to Kissingen, I to Oberwalldorf; at the beginning of July I will join you—and then for Belgium.”

‘Andlau made no objection. He was content with every thing that was agreeable to her, and as she commonly cared for nothing and nobody in the world but him, this must be reckoned an extraordinary merit in him; for most people are most dissatisfied when the greatest interest is taken in them. She had sat down beside him on the ottoman. He touched her forehead lightly with his lips, and looked down upon her with an indescribable expression of tenderness, devotion, and joy. Faustine alone had ever seen him smile from an inward sense of pleasure; for to her he was every thing she wanted, and at every moment when she wanted him—father or friend, teacher or lover, encouraging or warning, watching over or caressing—and she leant upon him as her visible providence. Her discursive fancy was kept within limits by his clearness—her restless excitability by his calmness. “As those slaves in the East,” she would say laughingly, “wear, as a sign of their condition, only a little gold chain upon the wrist, which looks like an ornament; just so is your love an ornament, but still a chain.”

“Which you are obliged to carry to prevent your being blown about by all the winds of heaven,” replied Andlau.

“And to be sure I deserve no better; for I have a genuine slave nature, and love most where I am most tyrannised over.”

With every wish to be sparing of our extracts, we are obliged to bear in mind that a train must be laid where an effect is to be produced: it is essential that the characters and position of Andlau and Faustine should be understood; and a few descriptive touches are still necessary.

‘Almost all women were fond of Faustine, for she never came into competition with them. She grudged them neither their triumphs, nor their fine clothes, nor their adorers, and was content to have none of these. True, she threw the most beautiful and brilliant women into the shade, yet in such a manner that it was not felt. The beautiful said—“She has a great deal of mind, but she is certainly not handsome.” The clever—“She has not much sense, but she is very lovely.” None of them compared themselves with her, just as fine garden flowers would probably not like to be compared to a wild Alpine plant. A savage said once, on seeing a picture of an angel, “He is of my race.” Civilized people no longer possess this divine instinct.’

Some may think this figure overwrought, but let it not be condemned hastily. Does it not gracefully indicate the too prevalent inclination in society to put down or repudiate what exceeds the ordinary measure, or makes the least claim, however well founded, to superiority? When the claim has been made good the tone is inviting enough, but the first impulse is to repel. It is something to fix the attention of contemporaries—to say nothing of the chances with posterity—and one would think that ordinary people would gladly claim kindred with genius; yet,

not long since, it was by no means unusual to hear a common-place, mere walking talking gentleman, sneeringly inform the company that he was not *literary*—as if any human being could fancy that he was.

‘Pindar’s fine remark,’ says Coleridge, ‘respecting the different effects of music on different characters, holds equally true of genius; as many as are not delighted by it, are disturbed, perplexed, irritated.’ Goethe makes the same complaint in his *Farbenlehre*: ‘a noble deed is attributed to selfishness, an heroic action to vanity, an undeniable poetic production to a state of delirium: nay, what is still stranger, every thing of the highest excellence that comes forth—every thing most worthy of remark that occurs, is, so long as it is barely possible, denied.’

The ordinary run of men, it is added, did not take to her: she was not sufficiently tolerant of their complimentary common-places, or indulgent to their self-love.

‘Elderly men liked her best; probably because she was more friendly towards them—partly out of respect for age, partly because she maintained that she ran less danger—not of falling in love—but of being suspected of doing so, which might prove inconvenient and annoying. She was without fortune, without consideration, without connexions; yet such was the influence of her personal qualities, that the world silently recognised her connexion with Baron Andlau as a legal one, and, to excuse itself for this indulgence, supposed a private marriage.’

This kind of toleration is not unusual in Germany—not merely in Vienna, where a certain degree of laxity has always existed; but in Berlin, where the standard of propriety is more rigidly maintained. Those whose reminiscences go back to the commencement of the century, may recollect one or two curious instances.

They separate, and Faustine goes to her sister’s, where nothing remarkable occurs, except that a wild young man, Clement Wallsdorf, a connexion of the family, falls desperately in love with her, despite of marked discouragement. On her return, she rushes to meet Andlau with an eagerness which makes him tremble.

‘She was bewitchingly beautiful in her storms of sensibility, and indeed all human beings are most beautiful when they are in their peculiar element; but he loved her so much, that he felt less pleasure in seeing her in her full beauty, than fear lest the frequent recurrence of such moments should consume the sources of life.

“But why are you weeping, Ini?” asked Andlau; “before you were with me you had something like a reason—but now——?”

“Pédant!” exclaimed she, “must I then be happy by rule? When rejoicings, kissing, caresses, are not enough, tears and fault-finding must take their turn.”

Andlau's mother dies, and another separation becomes necessary. They part as usual with vows of eternal constancy :

“ Now, let the most important word be the last. Ini—Forget me not.”

“ That is a worn-out jest, Anastasius.”

“ No jest, Ini. You do not know yet how you can forget all.”

“ Oh, all, dearest—all; but not you !” She flung her arms round him in a burst of agony, and when he tore himself away, and the door closed upon him, she felt that her guardian angel had abandoned her; she sank upon one knee, exclaiming—“ He is gone! he is gone! Oh, my God, abide with me now !”

His return is postponed from week to week, and she remains for nearly two months in a state of loneliness, going out very seldom, and receiving few visitors. At the end of this time, her young admirer, Clement, arrives at Dresden; and she begins to cultivate society in order to avoid a frequent *tête-à-tête* with him. At the house of a friend she becomes acquainted with Count Mario Mengen, the stranger who had been so much struck by her on the terrace. He is clever, well-informed, and endowed with a certain independence of thought and bearing, which harmonizes with her own. His conversation soon becomes her chief resource; the day is incomplete without him, and Andlau's absence is less painfully felt.

The passages in which the growth of their mutual liking is traced, are amongst the best in the book; but we must hasten to the period when it can no longer remain a secret to either of them. On one occasion Mengen found her surrounded with maps of the East. He asked her what she was studying.

“ My journey to the East.” She explained her plan, and asked whether he would be of the party. He joyfully assented; and she proceeded to call up all the historical and poetical associations which throw so great a charm on this journey. Suddenly she said, “ One of Andlau's friends has just been appointed Consul at Alexandria. He wrote me so to-day, and this friend is now the foundation-stone of my pyramid of hope.”

“ As soon as the Baron von Andlau is with you, I shall be *de trop*,” said Mengen very coldly, “ and I fancy you would then willingly dispense with me.”

“ Why should you deprive yourself of the pleasure ?” she enquired kindly; “ and can I then ever be surrounded by too many friends ?”

“ Ah, you make me your slave—not your friend.”

“ If I do so, you are right to break loose from me; but I do it unconsciously.”

“ But go, Count Mengen—go; if your liberty is infringed by me, I do not keep you.”

“ Unconsciously, as you said yourself.”

“ Well, if you won't go, you must not complain. You may break your chains, but you must not rebel against them.”

As if from a presentiment that his strength of mind would soon be put to the proof, she, half in earnest, requires him to take a vow that, come what may, he will never be wanting to himself.

“ Now then,” said Mengen, exerting himself to keep up the tone of feeling; “ now, you must give me something which will constantly remind me of it, which will never leave me.”

“ That is but fair,” said she; “ Duke Christian of Brunswick constantly wore a glove of Elizabeth of the Palatinate in his helmet. My yellow glove would have an excellent effect in your black hat.”

Mario rose, and walked to her writing-table. On it stood a small Etruscan vase, containing rings and seals. He brought it to her. She glanced over the contents, and at length selected a plain gold ring, with a single large pearl, and the device: *Qui me cherche, me trouve*. “ Is this ring to your liking?”

By way of reply, Mengen held out his hand, and begged her to place the ring on the ring finger. She was about to comply, when she suddenly bethought herself, and said slowly. “ No, that finger will at some future time wear another ring, to which mine must give place. Grant it a place from which it can never be expelled.” “ No objections!” she exclaimed, with animation. “ I am wilful! I will have a place to myself, be it ever so small—I will have my own place, or none at all. It is for you to choose.”

“ It is for you to command,” replied Mario; “ I meant only, that you make every place your own.”

“ Oh yes, if I take my stand on one which never brings me into collision with the claims of the world. See, the ring fits your little finger exactly,” and she placed it there.

At the conclusion of this interview, Mario was so happy that he had quite forgotten how cast down he was at the commencement. To Faustine, however, as soon as he went away, the question suggested itself—whether Andlau would be quite satisfied with this gift of the ring. In his presence she would certainly have given it, and have been sure of his consent—but in his absence? The resolution to write to him a full account of it the next morning, quieted her.

She is interrupted, and forgets to write; yet Madame Hahn-Hahn labours hard to persuade us that there was no coquetry, no selfishness, no intentional trifling with the feelings of others, in what she did. It was their fault or misfortune if their paths crossed, or their destiny became blended with hers.

“ I really cannot bear to live so lonely, and if Mengen were not here!—Thank God, he is.” Whether this delight in his presence would outlast Andlau's return—whether Mario would not have reason to complain, if that were not the case—never so much as occurred to her. She thought she had a right to rejoice with all her soul in this attractive object. She saw no danger in this. It would be doing her injustice to call this

levity, though there was that in her nature which produces levity. But life was to her a problem, how to mould herself to the greatest possible perfection; and every incident was a fresh stroke of the chisel to assist in freeing the divine image from the rough mass of rock. Whatever fell in her way, she accepted as sent from on high to be worked up for her improvement, without doing wrong to any one. But what thread of existence is drawn out in so lonely a direction, that no other gets entangled or interwoven with it?

A consciousness of her critical position begins at last to break upon her. Would Andlau and Mengen agree? Would it be possible for her to keep well with both of them? She felt that it would not. She felt that her only safe and honest course was, to tell Mengen at once the exact nature of her connexion with Andlau; but this would drive him from her, and she could not make up her mind to such a sacrifice. Whilst she is still wavering, Mengen is obliged to leave Dresden. A party of her friends are with her on the last evening they are to pass together; but he stays them all out.

At last she was alone with Mario. Silent, with folded arms, he stood before her for a time, for his feelings stifled his words. She stood up, placed both hands, clasped together, on his arm. "Till our next meeting, friend."

"Can I part from you thus?" enquired he in the same low tone, and clasped her hands in his. "Oh, Faustine, I cannot!" he exclaimed with overflowing vehemence, and pressed her to his heart.

"Oh, this is not right," said she, still with the same expression of sadness in look and tone.

"Pardon, Faustine," said Mario, more softly, and his hand glided lightly over her hair, and across her cheek—"for I love you."

All at once she stood up, disengaged from his arm, in front of him. She spread out her arms not towards him, but upwards to heaven, and with a joyful ecstatic tone, exclaimed, "He loves me!"

"Whither, then, with this agitating glow, Faustine, if not to me?" cried Mario, and flung his arms round her as if to chain her to his side.

"He loves me!" she repeated with the same inward enthusiasm. She clasped his head with both her hands, gazed on him, then shook her own slowly, and said as in a dream: "But that cannot be true."

"Not true? Oh, Faustine! have you not felt how, by degrees, my very existence has become blended with your own; how my heart has learned to beat in your breast; my spirit to fly in your direction; my whole being to keep pace with yours? Is not that love, Faustine?"

"Oh, but that is dreadful!"

"Why, Faustine, Angel, you love me."

"I!" exclaimed she, and passed her hand across her brow. "I—you? You are strangely mistaken, Count Mengen."

Mario's radiant features were suddenly convulsed. He moved Faustine from him, and said, in a menacing tone—"Faustine!"

She sank into a chair. Her tears flowed fast, and there was an indescribable air of suffering in her whole frame. Mario had not the

power to leave her, although at the first moment he had made a movement towards the door. He knelt before her, and said: "Faustine, how can you tell such an untruth?"

"I tell no untruth," she murmured without looking up.

"Look in my face, firmly and quietly, and now answer me—Do you not love me, Faustine?"

"No!" said she in a hardly audible tone, but unconsciously her eyes rested on him with such heavenly tenderness, that he exclaimed enchanted—"Your sweet deceitful lips speak false! your eyes say *yes*, and I believe *them*."

"No, no!" she exclaimed in increasing agony, and held both hands before her eyes, "Do not mind the treacherous eyes; the lips speak the truth."

"Faustine," said Mengen rising up, and his angry voice grew more terrifying from the tremulousness which excitement threw into it; "if you do not love me; if all has been but trifling—the amusement of an idle hour: if you have lavished the whole fascination of your nature as a vulgar coquetry: if you have accustomed yourself to such a disregard of the feelings of others, as to anatomize living, beating, bleeding hearts, for your instruction or your sport, then I have no expression for my contempt."

"Mario!" shrieked Faustine, and sank upon her knees, "I love you!"

She now gives him the history of her life. She was married young to a common-place man, Count Obernau. She felt no love for him, and before she became his wife, she told him so; but he assured her that the required feeling would come in good time, and that they should do very well together if it did not. But every thing about him was repelling to her sensitive impulsive character, and she naturally enough caught at the first offer of sympathy. An attachment grew up between Baron Andlau and herself, not discouraged by her husband, who had begun to get tired of her, and thought her incapable of loving any one since she had failed to love him. Set on by his sister, however, he took to watching them, and soon surprised them in an attitude of tenderness, which, though not quite irreconcilable with purity, was certainly calculated to put the most philosophical husband's philosophy to the test. Obernau runs for his pistols, and insists on Andlau's fighting him. Andlau retained his composure, conjured him to spare me, and not make a public scandal; whilst I stood like a statue, deprived of speech, thought and reflection; nor did I recover my faculties until a pistol shot was discharged, and Andlau fell at my feet. Then I knew what I had to do! I ordered horses, conveyed him to his own house, sent for surgeons, and stayed with him. Obernau, the whole world, were nothing to me from that hour. The husband pressed her to return; 'I will never,' she replied, 'return to the house of a man who has degraded himself and me in the eyes of the whole world.' He, on his part, refuses to consent to

a divorce, and when, two years after the breach, he dies, she herself declines becoming the wife of Andlau, from a fantastic aversion to a tie which had made her so miserable.

"I thank you," said Mengen, "for unveiling your destiny to me, and doubly do I thank you, since I see nothing in it to separate us."

Faustine looked at him without speaking, and passed her hand across her eyes, as if to convince herself that she was awake.

"Nothing! for you love me, and Andlau—you love no longer; for, if you still loved him, your eye would never have alighted on me with any other than the indifferent friendly glance you have for every body."

* * * * *

"Oh, then, I am miserably false!" said she, in a hollow voice.

"And what would you be if you remained standing between two men, fascinating both, belonging half to each, wholly to neither? And what would you be if you returned back with a divided heart to him whom you *have* loved, and said, 'I love another, but I will be true to you?' You love the good, the beautiful, the high, wherever you find it, Faustine—that makes you so fascinating; and you are too much the slave of the present to chain yourself lastingly to an individual—that makes you weak. I will not defend this weakness, because you might then reproach me with sophistry, or accuse me of speaking for my own interest. But trust me—if you were my sister, I would say the same. Untruth is a torn, half, wavering existence—a contradiction in the soul; and it by a prompt decision, by an irrevocable step, and you have freed yourself. Choose, choose, Faustine!" cried Mario, and the composure with which he had hitherto spoken was changed into the most troubled passion—"now, directly, on the spot! In half an hour I leave this room, and it depends on you whether I shall ever enter it again; for we cannot go on as formerly."

She still hesitates, but his decision of character controls her in her own despite, and he leads her to the writing-table.

"Now—write, Faustine."

"O God!" gasped she, and sank into the chair—"I cannot!"

"Then I must," said Mario, composedly.

"Are you mad?" cried she, beside herself. "No! no hand but my own shall plunge the dagger into his heart; for I am doing it, I know."

"Yes," said Mario; "his or mine."

* * * * *

"Sée, you have no alternative. Granted you plunged it into mine, what would you do next? Say nothing to Andlau?—That is not possible for you. Besides, he would guess that you are not the same; and, if he enquired, how would you be able to play the hypocrite—to lie? Suppose you told him what has occurred. Do you believe he would be able to shake off the impression? Were it a caprice on your side—if, in an idle hour, you had amused yourself by trifling with me—he might smile at it, and be comforted. Can he now?"

"Never!" and she seized the pen. She wrote as follows:—"Anas-

tasius, your last word at parting has come true. I have forgotten you—no, not you, but myself. I mean, I have forgotten that I could or would live in you alone. We must never see each other again, Anastasius. By this decision I ruin your life, and I do not even entreat your forgiveness. You will know best what to think of Faustine.”

On a former occasion, when Faustine playfully asked Andlau to pay her the compliment of a little jealousy, he replied—‘You know that with me there can never be any question of jealousy, because I acknowledge no rival. I readily surrender to another the property which he extends his hand to seize.’ He acted up to his principle. No reply of any sort was returned for many months; but, as she said herself, the letter was his death-warrant.

Faustine’s aversion to matrimony is overcome by Mengen’s arguments :

“Do you suppose I could contentedly resign myself to an equivocal connexion, open to every misconception, where there is no reason for it beyond feminine caprice? Thousands may do homage to you; many may love you; your husband alone can protect and honour you, as you ought to be protected and honoured.”

She promises to marry him as soon as he has obtained the consent of his parents, and he departs. Whilst he is absent, a harrowing incident occurs. Clement Wallsdorf shoots himself in her presence for love of her. Mario returns, snatches her from a scene of horror, and marries her.

Here the regular narrative breaks off, and the conclusion is related by the authoress in her own person; as she heard it from Mario, whom she meets in Venice five or six years afterwards, with his child, the child of Faustine.

They had lived happily beyond expectation for five years, and Faustine was the pet, the pride of his family. ‘Intellectual supremacy—which makes ordinary women so unendurable, that we feel them as a troublesome appendage, something like an illustrious name in poverty—seemed given her to show that the most superior women can be the most amiable. She, quietly folded her wings to prevent others from feeling they had none; but, at the slightest encouragement, she spread them and flew up, and caused the ethereal lustre, the bloom, of her region, to play down into our circle.’ But there is a canker in the rosebud. She is restless without knowing why, and teases Mengen with fancies, which his strong good sense is unable to keep down. ‘Il n’y a de satisfaction ici-bas que pour les âmes, ou brutales ou divines!’ she exclaims with Montaigne, and longs for a cloister where she may pour out her soul in prayer. ‘Mario, to adore eternally—that would make me happy.’ She

has a fit of painting, and the pursuit of fame diverts her for a time. With the proud consciousness of genius, she would say—

“The thirst for glory is a consciousness of futurity: he who does not believe in his own future, deserves no present. That my pictures may be simply in the taste of the day, and therefore without a future, often weighs heavily on my heart. I know that I possess a precious treasure; still, whether I shall work it up into jewels, or coins, or what else, I know not; at least not precisely. We deceive ourselves in the value of our productions, like mothers in the beauty of their children. Petrarch expected immortality from his poem *Africa*, and obtained it by his *Sonnets*. It would be lamentable if I left nothing behind me but *Africas*.”

Mario tries the effect of a journey to the East. The experiment answers whilst the novelty lasts, and then she is as restless as ever. ‘I will travel no more; I know now that the earth is the same every where, and mankind too; only the surface is varied; in one by climate, in another by temperament. The new is always something old, and the something different is always the same. That can never satisfy.’ In vain does he remind her that complete satisfaction is not to be expected, because never intended for us, on earth;—that if, by a miracle, every wish could be satisfied and every aim attained, she would weep, like Alexander, for more worlds to conquer. In vain does he endeavour to reanimate her former enthusiasm for painting, poetry, and fame.

“To what purpose?” was her answer. “That which is not of the first class need not exist at all, and only two or three books, and as many works of art, are of the first class. Each of these made an era, struck out a path, gave a direction. This depended not on him who wrote, or painted, or constructed them, but on God’s sending him into the world at the very moment when an efficient instrument was needed.”

* * * * *

“You love me no longer!” I exclaimed with bitterness.

“Fool!” she replied, with that ecstatic smile which I never saw on any brow but hers. “Have you not touched the tabernacle of my heart? Is not my son yours? No, Mario, I love you; I have loved nothing so much; I shall never love any thing *after* you, but *above* you—God. My soul has squandered itself in such transports of love and inspiration with yours, that all it can ever meet with in this region, will be but a repetition, and perhaps—an insipid one. They have so broken up my heart in searching for its treasures, that the gold mines are probably exhausted.”

“Dearest Mario, do not grudge me a little, a very little, rest on this side of the grave! If you did but know how weary I am, *you yourself* would guide me to another path.”

“You are striking into a false one,” I replied, “for you are about to be false to all your duties. Have you not vowed before God, to stay

by me in weal and in woe? Have you not the childhood of your son to watch over, and his youth to guide? Have you not your genius to cherish?—that gift, more heavenly than any, because a voice of power, of truth, of consolation for mankind.”

“Faustine, do not forget that the crown of thorns is inseparable from the crown of glory; the deepest pangs have given birth to the highest genius! He who would rise again, must suffer himself to be bound upon the cross! He who would ascend to heaven, must not fear the descent into hell. By what right would you enjoy only the sunny side of every thing?”

Her resolution is confirmed by a meeting with Andlau, who dies of a disease in the chest, brought on by the wound received from her husband. She reaches his deathbed just time enough to see him die. ‘She murmured in a scarcely audible tone, *Anastasius*; and he, who was insensible to every thing else, heard her voice, unclosed his eyes, smiled, tried to reach out his hand towards her, uttered *Ini*, and expired.’

She entered a convent of the *Vive Sepolte* at Rome, and died five months afterwards, a model of piety and humility.

This, it must be allowed, is a fine, but wild conception; and it may be true that there is nothing in actual life resembling it;—even in Germany, where all varieties of female character are to be found in much greater plenty than in any other country. Nor is there any thing in actual life resembling an Undine, a Psyche, a Corinna, a Sylphide. These finer natures—these creatures of the imagination and the heart—are, and are meant to be, the very opposite of Wordsworth’s household charmer—perhaps little less poetical, and certainly more useful in her way:

‘A creature not too bright or good,
For human nature’s daily food;
For transient sorrows, simple wiles,
Praise, blame, love, kisses, tears, and smiles.’

They must be tried by a different standard; and the first questions in the present instance are:—Was the author’s object an artistical and legitimate one, and is it attained by the book?

She wanted a vehicle for developing her theory of existence, her notions of genius, her reflections on the mind, her experience of the heart. For this purpose she frames a character, eccentric and fantastic, but full of life, light, and grace; made up of many qualities which are seldom found together—depth and volatility, humility and self-confidence, truth and fickleness; and endowed with many gifts—feeling, fancy, knowledge, thought, sensibility, beauty, genius—which are as rarely united in one woman as the mingled beauties of exulting Greece. Yet Madame Hahn-Hahn has moulded them into an harmonious whole, which not merely satisfies the critic’s judgment, but

(what is of more importance) keeps up the reader's interest to the end. There are some episodical passages and conversations which bear rather loosely on the main story, but even these open glimpses, and suggest reflections, which we should be sorry to have missed.

In a concluding paragraph, the author, addressing a male companion, says : ' Women like Faustine are the avenging angels of our sex, which Providence sends occasionally, but rarely, upon earth, and to whom the best of you fall a prey ; for only the best of you are prepared—as the mass of women are—to give a heart for a heart, a life for a life, an entire existence for an entire existence.—Beware of the Faustines.' This would be tantamount to saying, ' Beware of me, Ida, Gräfin Hahn-Hahn,' if the report regarding the identity of the characters were true ; but she indignantly repels the insinuation. In a subsequent work,* a conversation takes place regarding ' Georgiona,' by ' Gräfin Schönholm,' both feigned names :

" I assure you she has copied herself and the incidents of her life."

" But nature cannot be copied : it must be conceived so as to make part of the mind, in order to be naturally portrayed. Gräfin Schönholm is said to be ' Georgiona,' just as Lord Byron was said to be Childe Harold, and Madame de Staël Corinna. That is now become an established practice ; if an author writes with an air of reality, the incidents are said to be real ; and what he has felt and lived inwardly, he is supposed to have gone through in actual life."

In the same work, (Vol. ii. p. 196,) a sort of moral is suggested : ' Have not most women, in proportion as they are more richly gifted, some resemblance to Faustine, particularly in their thirst for emotion ? We get tired of a good, commonplace, matter-of-fact mother of a family ; and an imaginative, fanciful, fascinating woman, full of mind and sensibility, who keeps us in a constant state of excitement, gets tired of us.' In other words, in feeling as in mechanics, what is gained in time or duration is lost in intensity or strength : we cannot have it both ways : we cannot keep our cake and eat it too ; or, to adopt the more dignified language of Lord Byron, those who cannot rest satisfied without an unbroken succession of high-wrought emotions, must make up their minds to be constantly fluctuating ' between the misery of disappointment and the misery of satiety.'

Ulrich is the work which, next to *Faustine*, has attracted most attention. The author has taken a larger canvass, and crowded it with figures ; but we lose in compactness what we gain in variety. We also see in it, what is not unusual in her

* *Ulrich*, Vol. i. p. 225.

works, the want of a settled purpose—a definite aim, at the commencement; a defect which Sir Walter Scott frankly acknowledged in his own.

Three young ladies leave a celebrated establishment in Heidelberg on the same day: Unica, the daughter of Count Erberg; Clotilda, the daughter of the Frankfort banker, Marana; and Margarita, the daughter of an impoverished widow of noble birth, the Freifrau von Ringoltingen. Clotilda marries Count Ostwald, an elderly, ugly, and weak-minded man, for the sake of his title; Margarita marries Prince Thierstein, to please her mother; Unica contracts a girlish attachment for young Marana, the banker's son; but her proud parents will not hear of such a union, and press her to marry her cousin, Count Ulrich Erberg, the owner of the adjoining chateau, for whom, at first, she feels no inclination.

‘Ulrich, it must be owned, could not be termed handsome; he had fine but strong features, a bilious complexion, eyebrows which almost touched, and, together with his hair and whiskers, darkened his face too much; but the indescribably noble expression of his brow, his fine figure, small feet and hands, (the inheritance of aristocracy,) and simple bearing, were far from making a disagreeable impression on the whole.’

We quote this description, in an abridged shape, because Ulrich may be regarded as Madame Hahn-Hahn's *beau-ideal* of a lady-killer. Thus, although he professes little more than respectful affection for Unica, and it is obvious that his thoughts are constantly wandering, she consents to marry him, and resolves to win his love. Her first step is a somewhat anomalous one for a bride. On reaching her room, on the wedding night, he finds her gloved and bonneted as for a walk:—

‘Ulrich's first movement was a step towards the door, his second to pass his hand over his forehead, and throw back his head, as he often did, when he sought to master an unpleasant feeling.

‘“My dear Unica, have the goodness to tell me what this means?”

‘She turned half round, and said, dryly and peremptorily, “I would be alone.”

‘Ulrich gazed on her with an indescribable mixture of pride and melancholy, and replied—“Why do you suddenly drive me from you, Unica? It gives me pain, and will do you harm.”

‘A gleam of triumph shot across her face, and in a more decided tone she repeated—“I would be alone.”

‘“You wish, then, to be alone now—and for ever,” he said, without sharpness, without bitterness, without ill-humour, but with an unconquerable decisiveness. Unica felt this. Twice had her resolution been shaken; it should not be so a third time.

‘“Now, and for ever,” she said. Ulrich bent his head proudly, and retired to his own room.’

There is an English novel of considerable merit in which a union begins in the same manner, and ends happily. Unica calculated on a similar result, and meant merely to pique her husband into a passion for her. Unfortunately, she had not calculated on the effects of an early love affair, which, though transitory in its duration, had left uneffaceable traces on his heart. To quiet her fears on another account, he relates it to her.

He begins with a remark which would seem to imply, that Germany has lost a little of its characteristic earnestness :

● A man nowadays can do nothing more unbecoming—that is to say, nothing more laughable—than confessing himself to be mastered by a feeling. It is not merely the men—even the women look upon him as a simpleton ; for love, the *passion*, is out of fashion. It is no longer to satisfy the heart, to absorb our existence, but to gratify our vanity, and (when matters come to the highest pass) our senses. No La Valière takes refuge with her rejected heart amongst the Carmelites ; no De Rance flies to La Trappe after seeing his beloved Duchess de Montbazon in the pangs of death.” ●

This view of the matter is a superficial and impatient one. Modern men and women are as capable of passion as their forefathers ; hearts beat as wildly under embroidered waistcoats as under steel cuirasses ; and love plays a much more important part in the lives of most of us than we are willing to confess. Who, for example, would have expected to find Bentham, in his eightieth year, writing (as may be seen in our last Number) to the object of his first and only love, to remind her of the present of a flower ! ‘ From that day not a single one has passed (not to mention nights) in which you have not engrossed more of my thoughts than I could have wished.’ If other men of strong feelings could be induced to register their emotions, we should probably soon have a series of confessions as startling as Rousseau’s.

Neither is it true that great sacrifices are unknown. Not three years since a man of fortune, connexion and accomplishment, long past what is commonly called the more susceptible period of life, but in the full enjoyment of his faculties, suddenly retired from the world in consequence of a disappointment of the heart ; and he is now living in a small island, uninhabited except by a solitary attendant and himself. The best knight that ever lived could do no more for a duchess.

It is admitted, however, that a few are still cast in the mould of the olden time, and Ulrich is one of them. He meets a beautiful unknown, named Melusina, on the Lake of Como, and falls desperately in love with her. She returns his passion,

and they live very pleasantly together for a month; at the end of which her holiday is up; and she leaves him as wise as when they met regarding her family or position, after exacting a promise that he will neither follow nor enquire for her. Four years pass away, during which he thinks of nothing else, when one morning he sees her in Berlin with a child, whom he supposes to be his own. The mystery is cleared up at the opera, where Melusina happens to occupy the next box. She sees him, faints away, and makes a scene. He carries her to her carriage, and returns to his party.

“My dear Ulrich,” whispered my aunt, as I resumed my place beside her, “the attention of the whole audience is fixed on you.”

“So let it,” I replied unconcernedly.

“But, good Heaven!” exclaimed she impatiently, “do you not know then that you have given yourself *en spectacle* with the mistress of the —— Minister?”

“I was spirit-broken, I am so still. The object of my worship is cast down into the dust where all may tread upon it; and yet I have found nothing on earth so beautiful as Melusina. Between contempt and adoration, disgust and longing—the bitterest and the sweetest feelings—I stand powerless; for I loathe the life in which nothing is so beautiful as a painted lie.”

Gratitude, or vanity, induces men to make ample allowances for faults committed for their own dear sakes; and Ulrich had a perfect right to believe in some kind of mystic pre-ordained union of souls, which made it quite natural and proper for Melusina to dispense with ceremony; but surely it was a little unreasonable to expect that a woman, whose acquaintance he had formed under such peculiar circumstances, would turn out a pattern of purity; and instead of fainting away and having a brain fever, he should have exclaimed,

“I ask not, I know not, if guilt’s in that heart,

I but know that I love thee, whatever thou art.”

Ulrich’s story is by no means consolatory to his wife, but they get on pretty well till he pays a visit to Prince Thierstein—a rough-mannered narrow-minded man, who had married Margaret, Unica’s schoolfellow, in the hope of continuing his race. She enters the dining-room, and Ulrich is presented to her. ‘Silently she received him, and silent, breathless, lost to every thing around him, stood Ulrich; for Melusina, but Melusina without a shade of sin or sorrow, Melusina, younger, brighter, stood before him as Margaret, Princess of Thierstein.’ They are in fact sisters, but this does not appear till long afterwards, when Ulrich has transferred his affections to Margaret. Their attachment forms the grand feature of the book, and gives rise

to a great variety of scenes and reflections. The character of Margaret is finished with great care ; and we must pause to quote a passage :

‘ Perhaps Ulrich alone knew what a deep knowledge of things she possessed ; for in society she seldom gave vent to her thoughts, and spoke with few words. “ I am not in the same key with society,” she once said to Ulrich ; “ consequently what I say is too high or too low for the general symphony. I am obliged to perform solos, or duets with you.” This neither amazed nor distressed her ; she neither sought to catch the tone or gain the opinion of others. She had the indifference of genuine superiority, namely, the most complete indifference regarding the approbation of the mass. Certain persons sometimes acquire an extraordinary reputation in the world for wit, talent, or genius. In general, this proves nothing more than that they are of the precise height which places them on a level with the crowd ; both what they are, and what they produce, exactly corresponds with its demands. Were this more, or did they produce more, they would instantly lose this happy equipoise, be out of proportion to the measuring rod applied to them, and only be able to compel the recognition of their superiority by overwhelming proofs. The artist, the author, may give such proofs ; but daily life, and the social circle, do not always afford fine minds an opportunity for development.’

After some months of dangerous intimacy, they separate. ‘ Remain far from me,’ are Margaret’s parting words, ‘ till I call you, and this call will first reach you from my grave.’ Ulrich writes her an imprudent letter, which falls into her husband’s hands. He casts her off, and she retires to live in a small cottage in Switzerland with her child. Ulrich, ignorant of the consequences of his imprudence, resolves to travel for some years, and, as a preliminary measure, requires his wife to agree to a divorce. It is at length agreed between them, that things shall remain unaltered for the present ; but that in case he comes back within three years and renews the demand, she shall consent.

After rambling for more than a year in Russia, he arrives in Stockholm, where a returned letter, addressed by him to Margaret at her husband’s house, reaches him. This makes him desperate, and he devotes himself during several months to an opera-singer, in the hope of driving Margaret from his thoughts. Whilst at Stockholm he pays a visit to the celebrated authoress, the Countess Ilda Schönholm, and it is difficult to believe that no living person is intended.

‘ Ulrich had heard a great deal about her, both praise and blame ; had read all her books, and formed an image of her in his own mind, which by no means agreed with the original. He possessed taste and penetration enough not to regard a woman who had written a book as a caricature on body and soul ; but unwillingly he had made the imposing de Stael—

with her talent, her passion, her vanity, her goodness, her fancy, her enthusiasm—his type of an authoress; and turned Ilda into a German de Staël. He found not a trace of it. Composed and simple, firm without haughtiness, negligent without affectation, indifferent regarding the impression which she made, she did not give herself the smallest trouble to attract attention. Whether she disdained the littleness of the means used to produce an effect, or found the end too petty, or had the intimate conviction of a superiority which repels the many and attracts a few—but attracts them irresistibly, as the loadstone the steel,—suffice it to say, not a word, not a syllable, not the most distant indication, betrayed her talent and her customary occupations.

The causes of the differences between authors and their works are explained, in a very striking Essay, in Sir Edward Bulwer's 'Student.' The secret of Madame Hahn-Hahn's anxiety to dissipate some supposed delusion on this subject, is the prejudice still prevalent amongst the highest classes in Germany against female authorship.

Ilda wears a gown of black velvet, with plain wristbands and collar; and here we may take occasion to observe, that Madame Hahn-Hahn seldom fails to give a minute description of the dresses of her favourites; rightly thinking it as difficult to convey an impression of the person without the dress, as Martin, in *Scriblerus*, found it to form an abstract notion of a lord-mayor, without his gown, chain, and appendages. She also attaches considerable importance to the feet, and has propounded a new theory regarding them, which may serve as a pendant or counterpoise to Lord Byron's regarding hands, which (his own being small and well-shaped) he declares to be the only mark of birth which aristocracy can generate. Madame Hahn-Hahn says, somewhat affectedly:

'There is much more physiognomy in the feet than in the hands. The hands are so ill treated, so practised in coquetry, so ruined by artistical skill—the piano turns the fingers into little knobs—that a hand seldom preserves its original character from the levelling effect of daily use; and when it does, it is not what is commonly called a handsome hand. That must be plump, round, smooth, white as marble, and marked with blue veins. I have an antipathy to such a one: the thought of touching it chills me; it has something of the smoothness of the snake, the coldness of the fish, and at times I fancy, if geese had no wings, they would have just such hands. The foot has remained in its primitive state. The princess may destroy it by too much care, and the peasant girl by neglect; still it must support the body; it is in keeping with it as the base with the pillar; and its tread, its bearing, correspond with the character of the person. If I had a taste for solid pursuits, I would set up my system against craniology.'

We need hardly add, that Ilda Gräfin Schönholm is described as having well-formed, tapering, thoroughbred feet.

Just as Ulrich is getting tired of his opera-singer, he receives a letter, signed *Melusina*, informing him that Margaret, thrown off and abandoned on his account, is living near Vevay. It now appears that they are sisters. Melusina eloped at sixteen, with a man who subsequently abandoned her at Paris; where she became acquainted with an elderly diplomatist, who, during his life, protected her as a parent, and left her a good fortune at his death. This was the Ambassador with whom Ulrich had seen her at Berlin. Ulrich leaves Stockholm, procures Unica's consent to a divorce, and travels post-haste to Vevay, where he finds Melusina dying, and Margaret watching over her. Melusina joins their hands and dies.

When Voltaire wished to depreciate Rousseau, he made a short abstract of the plot of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, and headed it *De ce qui se trouve dans le livre de Jean Jacques*. He could not have hit on a more effective method of conveying an injurious impression of a work of manners or feeling; particularly when, as in the work before us, the bare incidents require a good deal of shading, to prevent harsh inferences from being founded on them.

Let it be remembered then, that, since both law and custom legitimate a marriage with the sister of a deceased wife in Germany, there is no more harm in Ulrich's becoming attached to the two sisters successively than to any other two women. Neither must the comparative carelessness with which the marriage tie is dissolved, be charged altogether to the account of the individual; for it is principally attributable to the facility with which divorces are obtained. In Prussia, there are fifteen distinct grounds of divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* enumerated in the Code, any one of which is sufficient;—the infidelity of either party, incompatibility of temper, and mutual consent, being of the number. Until very recently, the tribunals of first instance were empowered to decide the cases, so that this sort of justice was brought home to every man's door. We are informed that more than five hundred divorces take place annually in Berlin alone, principally among the lower classes; for the practice, by means of its frequency, has gone out of fashion among the higher. A speedy alteration of the law is contemplated; and its injurious effects have already been much diminished by limiting the jurisdiction to the courts of appeal.

Prussia is indebted to Frederick II. for the existing laxity of its laws in this respect. The other Protestant states retain, nominally, most of the pristine strictness; but whether from the influence of example, or other local causes, they are practically as loose as their neighbour. When a couple are anxious

to be free, it is simply necessary for one of them to be detected in an equivocal situation, (it need not be one of positive guilt,) and their wishes may be gratified. What is there wanted is a more careful enquiry into cases of collusion, which, when known and recognised as such, are not even attended with much danger to reputation.

Opinions may vary as to the degree of strictness with which the marriage vow should be maintained; but it is impossible not to see that the vow must lose its sacredness, if it is liable to be set aside on the first growth of a new inclination—the first feeling of satiety—the first discovery of a difference in taste or temper—or (for it all comes to this) the first suggestion of caprice. Indeed, we are quite sure that not one couple in a hundred ever lived together, for a series of years, without intervals of struggle—without hours, days, weeks, when it required all their firmness, all their good sense, all their consciousness of the true nature of their position, to induce them to bear and forbear, till the habit of mutual concession became a pleasure, and the basis of a fixed affection had been laid. It stands to reason that the public opinion of Germany must be in a loose state regarding marriage, and we must not blame the novelist for representing types of her country and her time.

It is satisfactory to be able to say, that Madame Hahn-Hahn is not one of those writers who exhaust themselves in two or three efforts; who hoard up a limited stock of thought and observation, pour it all into their first books, and remain dry and unproductive during the remainder of their days. We are by no means sure that her last book, *Cecil*, is not her best, both in conception and execution, though parts of it are spun out to tediousness. Moreover, it opens new ground, being an attempt to trace the influence of worldliness—that sort of worldliness which honourable and enlightened parents would think it right to encourage in a son—on a man of talent and sensibility, who has his fortune to make. The effect is judiciously heightened by contrast. The most prominent female character is a woman who consults only her own sense of duty, and uniformly does what she thinks right, without reference to opinion or the slightest regard to consequences. We cannot afford room for a detailed examination; and with regard to the rest of the novels named in our list, we can only say that they are all distinguished, more or less, by the same qualities as *Faustine* and *Ulrich*; and that it is necessary to read all, in order thoroughly to enjoy any one; since (like Balzac's *Scènes de la Vie Privée*) all the stories are connected, and form something like a succession of *Tableaux*. Thus, the Countess Schönhofm who holds such long conversations with

Ulrich at Stockholm, and his correspondent Ohien, are leading personages in *Aus der Gesellschaft* and *Der Rechte*; and the fate of Sigismund Forster, in the story of that name, materially influences the fortunes of *Cecil*. It is obvious that these occasional renewals of intimacy with old acquaintance may be made extremely agreeable; and in the cases before us, the contrivance has been skilfully and not too frequently employed.

It was part of our design at starting, to endeavour to deduce some general rules regarding German morals and manners from these books; but had we space at present, it would be neither fair nor logical to found any general conclusion or comparison on so slender a basis, as the writings of a single author. Her countrymen and countrywomen, however, would certainly have no reason to complain; for both conclusion and comparison would be favourable to them. The tone of the best society, in most of their great towns, would appear to be remarkable for ease, good taste, readiness to amuse and be amused, and the marked discouragement, if not total absence, of offensive pretension, or exclusiveness. There is the usual allowance of trifling and gossiping; examples of prejudice, ignorance, and vanity are not wanting, and much of the conversation is made up of conventional commonplaces: yet it is impossible to help feeling that social intercourse stands on a sound rational basis, and has obtained a high degree of refinement and agreeableness. This is probably nearly the same all the world over among the best of the higher classes, who are now every where found coalescing with all that is really worth cultivating among the rest. Still, curious points of difference, affecting manners or morals, might be selected.

For example, an Englishwoman of station seldom leaves her house unattended, or without a *chaperon*, and would be seriously compromised were she to travel with a man not nearly related to her. In Germany, a woman may undertake a journey, of any length or duration, with a male friend of any age, without compromising herself; that is, if their vocations really call them the same way, and the journey be not undertaken as a blind. The Germans, in short, do not take for granted that opportunity will necessarily create inclination; or that friends will be converted into lovers, by sitting together in a *britska* during the daytime and occupying apartments in the same hotel at night. In one Novel, we find a countess travelling with a handsome young artist; in another, an aged President gives his wife full permission to travel with a young member of his court; and we find, on enquiry, that such occurrences would excite no more comment in actual life than in Madame Hahn-Hahn's pages. In England,

however, when a middle-aged nobleman, of grave habits, happens to state, in a letter to a Bishop, (a curious confidant for a *liaison*,) that he has been taking a ten days' tour with an accomplished female friend, his excellent and right reverend editor feels it a duty to bear personal testimony to the purity of her intentions.* It might be made an instructive question, how far the strictness of the English rule indicates a superior state of morals, or the contrary.

The best of Madame Hahn-Hahn's books of Travels are her *Reisebriefe*: Letters to various members of her family, (from October 1840, to November 1841,) describing a journey across the Provençal country, over the Pyrenees, and through the greater part of Spain and Portugal. With an enthusiastic love for the fine arts, a marked preference for the romance of history, and a mind crowded with associations, she carries us along lightly and pleasantly enough. We may not have to thank her for much constitutional or statistical information; but we learn the aspect of the cities and the habits of the people; pick up some agreeable reminiscences about Moors and Troubadours; acquire a fresh feeling for Velasquez and Murillo, as well as a fresh relish for Don Quixote and Gil Blas; are made eyewitnesses of *auto-da-fés* and bull-fights; and find the Alhambra restored for our especial benefit.

Astralion, an Arabesh, is a little dramatic Poem, in which the *dramatis personæ* are birds, who talk in good rhymed verse on several subjects not connected with ornithology.

* Letters of the Earl of Dudley to the Bishop of Llandaff, p. 353.

ART. VII.—1. *Debate in the House of Commons, from the 4th till the 12th July 1843, on the State of Ireland.*

2. *Debate in the House of Lords, on the 15th of August 1843, on the Irish Arms' Bill.* Hansard. Vol. V. Pp. 630—1087. Vol. VI. Pp. 690—741.

FOR many years past Ireland has been the most painful subject on which a liberal writer could employ himself. It was not merely that he had to describe great misery and great danger: not merely that he had to dwell on a state of society in which all the means of good seem turned to evil;—in which a fertile soil and a temperate climate have produced a population in want of all the decencies, and of most of what are elsewhere thought the necessities, of life;—in which a free constitution is perverted into an instrument of legal oppression by one class, and of organized sedition by another; and in which religion itself is the source of cruelty, hatred, and crime. It was not merely this state of things that made Irish questions repulsive. It was the feeling that there were means by which the existing misery might be relieved, and the approaching dangers averted; but that the prejudices and passions of England and of Scotland rendered it useless to suggest, because they rendered it impossible to apply them. Every one who calmly and impartially considered our situation, saw that we were advancing every year nearer and nearer to civil war, foreign war, and revolution;—saw that it depended merely on ourselves whether these calamities should fall on our own heads, or on those of our children, or be altogether prevented; and saw that thoughtlessness, pride, or bigotry, rendered the bulk of the British people blind to their danger, and the remainder ready to incur it;—kept the former ignorant of the resentment which they were provoking, and made the latter obstinate rather to endanger the welfare of the whole empire, than to make the smallest sacrifice of their own party attachments and sectarian animosities. When Irish questions, or rather the *Irish Question*, for there is but one, has been forced on our attention, we have felt like a dreamer in a nightmare, oppressed by the consciousness that some great evil was rapidly advancing, that mere exertion on our part would avert it, but that we had not the power to will that exertion.

The last nine months have been a period of great anxiety and great evil. The improvement of Ireland has been arrested, all the bad passions and mischievous prejudices of her people have

been inflamed and strengthened, and it has often appeared that any unforeseen incident, any trifle not provided for, might light up a civil war throughout the island. But we believe that one effect has been produced, which, if it *really* has been produced, we accept as cheaply purchased, even at the price which has been paid for it. We believe that the majority of the people of England and Scotland are beginning to perceive the outline of the rocks that lie across their course, and to enquire into the means of altering it. They see the bulk of the people of Ireland united in blind subservience to a single leader, and they believe that leader to be utterly unscrupulous. They see that he has proposed to his followers an aim unattainable without civil war, and which, if attained, would destroy the security of one island, and the property, the education, and the civilization of the other. They know that, if he were to propose to the millions of his adherents merely to hold as proprietors the lands which they occupy as tenants, the Irish revolution would be accomplished. As Majendie said of cholera, it would be a disease beginning by death; it would be a revolution beginning by that general confiscation in which other revolutions have ended. They see that he has ventured to promise, as the result of Repeal, 'fixity of tenure'—words which, if they have a meaning, and assuredly they are not used without one, must mean legal confiscation; and they begin to calculate how soon he is likely to urge his adherents to seize, without repeal, the object for which repeal is demanded. Some persons believe that this will occur a year hence, some three years, and some expect it within six months: but if the imperial government permit the real grievances of Ireland to remain unredressed, while the imaginary ones are inflated and coloured, until they stimulate an ignorant and passionate people as forcibly as if they were real—if no means are used to detach from the anarchical party those whom just resentment, or error, or intimidation, has added, or is adding to it—all calm spectators of events must admit, that, within a period longer, perhaps, than the shortest of those that we have mentioned, but shorter than the longest, though the rights of the Landlord, the Church, or the Government, may still be recognized at law, yet, throughout Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, they will be suspended in practice; and be recoverable only at the expense of a war, which would certainly destroy the prosperity of the British empire, perhaps its institutions, and possibly even its independence. It is to those who are determined to preserve the integrity, the institutions, and the public faith of the United Kingdom; to those who are determined to avert national degradation and national bankruptcy; and to those who, though careless of the public, wish to save them-

selves or their families from ruin, that we address the following pages.

They contain an outline of the principal social evils to which Ireland is subject; and of the most important of the measures which we believe to be necessary, for removing the portion of evil which is capable of immediate or early remedy, and of palliating what admits only of gradual cure. On subjects which have been so long and so frequently before the public, it is scarcely possible that there can be much that is entirely new, either of truth or error. But the events of the last few months, and particularly the effects of the substitution of a Tory for a Whig government, though not unexpected, are confirmations or illustrations of much that was once conjecture. And we trust that we are not too sanguine when we add, that in the altered state of public opinion, much that, a year ago, was hopeless speculation—was a mere vision of what a wise and benevolent government, armed with absolute power, might effect—may now be urged as positive and practical recommendation.

We feel the responsibility which we incur by suggesting, or by promoting measures, of which the effect, whether for good or evil, must be great and permanent. But from this responsibility we see no escape. We certainly should not shake it off if, at one of the most critical periods of our national existence—when error may be fatal, and inaction may be error—we were to allow this Journal to remain silent. And we beg the reader to recollect that he also is responsible, if on any ground, excepting their inexpediency or utter impracticability, he refuses his assent to our propositions, or his co-operation in their execution.

It may, however, be necessary to inform a portion of our readers, that under the general term Ireland, are included two countries, very different in their social conditions—namely, the province of Ulster, or, as it is usually called, the ‘North of Ireland,’ and the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, which together constitute what is usually called the ‘South of Ireland.’ There are, indeed, as might be expected, many districts in the North of Ireland which partake of the general character of the South, and there are a few in the South which resemble that of the North; but subject to these exceptions, the state of the population in the North and in the South is not merely dissimilar but opposed. In the following pages we shall devote our attention almost exclusively to the South; and when we use the word Ireland without further explanation, we must thus be understood as speaking of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. It may be necessary also to state, that we use the nomenclature,

which is usual in Ireland, though incorrect, and call the Roman Catholics simply Catholics, and the Protestant Episcopalians simply Protestants.

The evils which affect Ireland may, like all other causes of national misery or happiness, be divided into two classes—those which are *Material*, or, to use a more common, but less correct expression, *Physical*, and those which are *Moral*. The material evils are the want of Capital, and the want of small Proprietors. The moral evils are Insecurity, Ignorance, and Indolence. The concurrence of the two circumstances, which we have called material evils, assisted by unfavourable accidents, produced the moral evils; and these in their turn have aggravated the material ones; and the result has been a population more unhappy in itself, and the cause of more unhappiness to all who have to deal with it, than any other civilized and free community in existence.

We will first consider what we have called Material evils—the want of Capital and of small Proprietors. Neither of these deficiencies, occurring alone, is inconsistent with the substantial welfare of the community. A people, indeed, ill provided with capital, cannot enjoy much division of labour. Its labour, therefore, cannot be productive, its manufactures must be few and rude, the bulk of its members must be agricultural, and the produce of its fields, unless assisted by a soil and climate which do not belong to Europe, though it may be great compared with the extent of land in cultivation, generally bears a small proportion to the number of persons employed on it. Such a people may consist almost exclusively of small proprietors—as is the case in some portions of France and of the United States; or it may consist almost exclusively of great proprietors and of their dependents—as is the case in many parts of Russia and Spain; but it scarcely can possess a middle class, for a middle class is the creature of capital. But, though without a middle class, and without the diffusion of moral and intellectual cultivation, which a middle class produces, such a population, if it consist of proprietors, may be happy. If it have a good government—that is to say, a government under which persons and property are secure, and education is promoted—it will have intelligence and self-respect. It will so regulate its numbers, as not to subdivide its holdings into portions minuter than those which will maintain a family, in the comfort which the habits of the people require. Each family, secure of its estate, will improve it with the industry, and endeavour to add to it by the frugality, which the feeling of property inspires. In time, it will acquire capital, and

with capital will come towns, manufactures, large estates—an aristocracy, a middle class, a labouring class, and the complicated social relations which belong to a rich civilized community.

On the other hand, in a country possessing abundant capital, the absence of small proprietors of land, though attended by considerable political inconvenience and danger—inconvenience and danger, perhaps, outweighing its economical advantages—is not inconsistent with general comfort and prosperity; and perhaps is a condition necessary to the greatest productiveness of labour, and greatest accumulation of wealth. In such a country, if the territory be considerable, a great, perhaps the greater portion of the existing capital is employed on the land, and the remainder in manufactures and commerce. The land is occupied in the divisions, and in the manner most conducive—not to the largest possible amount of produce—but to the largest in proportion to the labour employed on it. Agriculture becomes a business requiring a considerable capital, both fixed and circulating; and as the landlord is unwilling to devote himself to the unremitting superintendence and constant bargaining which are required from a practical farmer, and the farmer will not sink his capital in the permanent improvement of another man's land, it becomes usual that almost all the buildings, drainage, and planting, and, in fact, the greater part of the fixed capital, should be supplied by the landlord, and only the circulating and perishable capital by the tenant. The ownership of land becomes, in a great measure, the luxury of the rich—of those who can afford to possess a property requiring great occasional outlay—and therefore, unless when held in large masses, giving an uncertain revenue. The occupancy of land falls into the hands of a class more numerous and less opulent than its owners, but who still, when compared with the bulk of the community, are few and wealthy. In England and Scotland, a farm of 250 acres, even of rich land, is not considered large: yet such a farm can seldom be well farmed by a tenant whose capital is much less than L.2000; and it will generally be found, that a much larger capital has been expended on it by the owner, in buildings and other works, which must, from time to time, be renewed by him. The landlord and tenant are partners; they have common feelings and common interests. The tenant is anxious to induce the landlord to add to the fixed capital, in order that his own circulating capital may be more productive; the landlord is anxious to see the tenant's circulating capital increase, as it is the instrument by which his own fixed capital is made serviceable. The great body of the rural population are in the state which, in poor countries, is one of want almost approaching to destitution. They

are labourers dependent on daily or weekly wages; with scarcely any property except their clothes and furniture, and perhaps a pig or a small deposit in a Savings Bank, and without any land, except perhaps a small garden or allotment to cultivate in spare moments. Such a labouring population, however, if well educated and undepraved by the follies or the frauds of ill-administered poor-laws, may, in a rich country, attain a degree of comfort superior to that of the small proprietors of a poor country. The agricultural labourers of the best parts of England are better clothed, better fed, better lodged, and better warmed, than the small proprietors of France, or even of Switzerland.

They form, however, only a minority. In the advanced state of agriculture, in which the labour of one family can raise the raw produce required by three or four, those who are not wanted in the country naturally collect in the towns, and devote themselves to manufactures and commerce. The productiveness of the labour of women and children in such occupations generally enables the work-people in towns to obtain, per head, a much larger income than can be obtained by an agricultural family; and this opens to them, if prudent and frugal, an indefinite prospect of advancement. Some of the richest families in Britain were, two generations or one generation ago, mere work-people, on daily or weekly wages.

Though the difference between the extremes is vast, the gradations of wealth are insensible. Who can say where the middle class in Great Britain begins or ends? * Every separate employment has within itself a higher, a lower, and an intermediate order. Every individual is striving to reach the step that for the time is immediately above him, and the whole community is in a state of ferment and struggle incompatible with content, and possibly unfavourable to happiness, but eminently productive of wealth, power, and intelligence.

But where there is little capital, and therefore few small proprietors, society is divided into the very rich and the very poor, with scarcely any intermediate class. The land is cut into small holdings, because it is only in small holdings that a tenant, without capital, can cultivate it. And this very subdivision renders the landlord often unable, and almost always unwilling, to employ on it capital of his own. The productiveness of his estate might be doubled by an extensive drainage; but the consent, perhaps the co-operation of the tenants, is necessary; and a poor, ignorant, and suspicious population believe either that what is beneficial to their landlord must be mischievous to themselves, or, at least, that, if their consent is to be asked, it must be paid for. Their health and efficiency might be improved

by improving their residences; but he finds them ready to inhabit the hovels which they can raise with their own hands, and doubts whether, if he were to build for them, he would be repaid. The land which a family with little capital can cultivate, does not, except during a small part of the year, afford profitable employment for their whole time. If it were their own indeed, they might, and probably would, keep constantly at work on it, and so gradually improve it; but they have no motive to treat thus another man's land. As the supply of labour, except during the short busy seasons, is great, and the demand almost nothing—in other words, as almost every body is willing to be hired, and scarcely any body willing or able to hire—the wages of labour are very low, and employment, at any wages at all, is scarce and precarious. The whole rural population, therefore—and, where there is little capital, this is nearly the whole population—is thrown for support on the occupation of land.

It is absurd to complain, that under such circumstances rents are excessive—that every thing beyond a miserable subsistence is extorted from the tenant. The price of the use of land, like the price of every other commodity of limited supply, is fixed not by the seller, but by the purchaser. In England and Scotland the competition of the bidders for farms is limited by the amount of capital and skill required; and is further limited by the general rate of profit. No one will knowingly offer a rent which does not allow him an average return for his capital. And as to the labourers, to them a bit of land is a luxury, like the possession of a small estate to a shopkeeper. If it comes in their way, they take it; but they will make no sacrifices to obtain it, and never look to it as a means of subsistence. But in a country in which every one who can find a landlord to accept him can be a farmer, and scarcely any one can be a labourer; where the three only alternatives are—the occupation of land, beggary, or famine—where there is nothing to repress competition, and every thing to inflame it—the treaty between landlord and tenant is not a calm bargain, in which the tenant, having offered what he thinks the land worth to him, cares little whether his offer be accepted;—it is a struggle like the struggle to buy bread in a besieged town, or to buy water in an African caravan. It is a struggle in which the landlord is tempted by an extravagant rent; the agent, by fees or by bribes; the person in possession, by a premium to take him to another country; and rivals are scared away by threats, or punished by torture, mutilation, or murder. The successful competitor knows that he has engaged to pay a rent, which will swallow the surplus beyond the poorest maintenance for his family, that with

his trifling stock he can force the land to produce. He knows that if he fails to pay he must expect ejection, and that ejection is beggary. He calculates how small a portion of his tenement, devoted to the most abundant variety of the most abundant species of food, will feed his family. He grows on that portion, in our climates, lumper potatoes, and cultivates on the remainder something better—not to consume, but to sell, in order to meet his rent. If, as is frequently the case, he has not been able to obtain land more than enough to supply his family with potatoes, he works out his rent by hiring himself to his landlord. Though his labour is paid at an almost nominal sum, it is generally dear to the landlord even at that price; partly because it is reluctant and inefficient, and partly because the landlord has little use for it, though he accepts it as the only substitute for his rent. If the potatoes of an individual fail, he sends out his wife and children to beg; if those of a district fail, there is a famine.

It must, we think, be admitted, that we have now described the state of the greater part of the South of Ireland; and, consequently, that we have made out our first proposition, that the Material evils of that country are owing to the want of capital, and the want of small proprietors.

When a country has fallen into this state, there seem to be three means, and only three, by which it can be extricated. First, a revolution subversive not merely of its government, and of its institutions, but of almost all its social relations;—a revolution which should destroy or banish its aristocracy, confiscate their property, and convert the occupiers into proprietors; or, secondly, the generation of capital, by the industry and frugality of individuals; or, thirdly, the introduction of capital from abroad.

The first involves the certainty of the destruction of the happiness and morals of the existing generation. It involves the risk of a succession of revolutions terminating in anarchy, despotism, or subjugation—probably partition by foreign powers.

The second might require centuries. There are no classes that accumulate so slowly as small occupiers and landlords. The first want the power; the second the motive.

The third, the introduction of capital from abroad, if it could be adopted, would effect all that the optimist could desire. It would be a remedy operating *tutò, citò, et jucundè*. But it is a remedy to which scarcely any country has ever been able to have recourse. No great country, indeed, forming a separate community, with a government and institutions of its own, could resort to it. A sufficient number of capitalists willing to trust

their property to foreign laws and foreign management could not be found.

But if the community in question were a member of a large empire, of which the other portions were overflowing with capital, seeking employment—if it possessed rivers and harbours for commerce and mineral wealth, and water-power for manufactures; if, with an abundant supply of labour, and a fertile soil, its lands were only half cultivated—it seems, at first sight, probable—we had almost said certain—that its Material evils would rapidly find a remedy in the natural course of events. This again applies to Ireland. When her Material condition alone is considered, she appears to afford a field in which the surplus capital of England and Scotland might set to work her own surplus population. The supply of labour in proportion to the demand is so much greater in Ireland than in England or Scotland, that after allowing for the inferiority, for a time at least, of Irish labour, a considerable profit might be obtained by the establishment of manufactures. The land affords equal opportunities for profitable investment. The evidence collected in 1836 and 1837 by the Poor-law Commissioners shows, that at that time the land of Ireland, though four times as much labour as in England was expended on it, yet gave per acre only half what would have been the English produce. And when we recollect that the Irish husbandry is of the kind most favourable to a large gross produce; and further, that the agriculture of England is still lamentably imperfect—far inferior to the ordinary agriculture of our Lowlands, which itself is far inferior to the best that is now practised, and still more to what may be expected—it must follow that the land of Ireland does not return a fourth, perhaps not an eighth, of what might be obtained from it by fair industry and competent skill. And yet these elements of wealth are left to waste. When British capitalists—*omnibus modis trahunt, vexant pecuniam, nequeunt tamen vincere*—send it to Spain, to Greece, to Turkey, to South America, and to the United States, at the mercy of barbarous, unsettled, or fraudulent governments, and of laws intended for the protection rather of the debtor than of the creditor; Ireland, under the same government and laws as England, and within a day's post of London, has received, during the last twenty years, a less amount of British capital than that which has crossed the Atlantic! It is obvious that some deep-seated obstacle must intervene. It is obvious that there is something in the institutions of Ireland, or in the habits of her people, which deters British capital from one of its most natural, and apparently one of its most productive employments. It is obvious, in short, that it must be the Moral evils of Ireland which

exclude the remedies for her Material evils. And to these Moral evils, therefore, we now address ourselves.

We have already said that they are Insecurity, Ignorance, and Indolence. The insecurity of persons and of property in Ireland arises from the tendency to violence and resistance to law, which is the most prominent, as well as the most mischievous part of the Irish character. It is the quality which most distinguishes Ireland from Great Britain. In England and Scotland the great majority of the population are loyal, in the primitive sense of that abused word—that is, they are the friends of the law. They may wish portions of it to be altered; but so far are they from resisting it, that they unite to prevent it from being resisted by others. Opposition to the civil law is almost unheard of. The decisions of the courts in all questions between man and man are so silently submitted to, that few persons are aware of the machinery by which they are enforced. It is by means of the law that the misconduct of those who administer the law is corrected. If an officer of justice is supposed to have exceeded his powers, the person who thinks himself injured applies to the courts of law for damages and redress. A breach of the criminal law arms the whole society against the offender. Prosecutors and witnesses come forward; juries are ready to convict; and the Judge is so frequently required to restrain them, that he has been called the prisoner's counsel. This is accounted for, when we recollect that in England and Scotland the law interferes in favour of the poor, far more frequently than in favour of the rich. Where the bulk of the population live on wages, the poor are the creditors, and the rich and the middle classes the debtors. All that the working man in general knows of the civil courts is, that they are places to which, if he is wronged, he may summon his employer. He never fears their being used against him; for he knows by experience that the higher and the middle classes would think it waste of time and of money to bring an action against a man without property. It is true that, in the criminal courts, the culprit is generally a poor man, but so is generally the prosecutor. It is the person of the workman that is most exposed to assault; it is his property that is most exposed to depredation. Offences against the combination laws, the game laws, and the revenue laws, are exceptions; for there the prosecutor is the crown, the landlord, or the employer; but there, on the other hand, public sympathy is with the offender.

In Ireland, on the contrary, the poor are the debtors and the rich the creditors. The 1,000,000 families who now occupy the soil of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, scarcely know

the existence of the civil law courts, except as the sources of processes, distresses, and ejectments. There are many parts of Ireland in which a *driver* and a *process server*—the former a man whose profession it is to seize the cattle of the tenant whose rent is in arrear, the latter an agent for the purpose of ejecting him—form regular parts of the landlord's establishment. There are some in which the driver, whether employed or not, receives an annual payment from every tenant. On many estates every tenant is served every year with a notice to quit, for the mere purpose of keeping him at the landlord's mercy; and on still more, the abatements from rent, which every landlord must occasionally make, instead of being absolutely remitted are kept in legal force, to be used when any motive, pecuniary, or political, or personal, may induce the landlord to exact them. We have now before us (in Supplement xi. to the Appendix to the 3d Report on the Poor-law Inquiry) a return of the ejectments actually tried in thirteen, out of the twenty-three counties constituting the south of Ireland, during the seven years ending in 1833; and they amount to 10,336. The mere names of the causes form a folio of 213 closely printed pages.

It is impossible that a law, of which these were the effects, could be popular, even if its objects were just, and its execution impartial. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader how far these suppositions are from the truth. During many generations—a period sufficient to form the character of a nation—the principal object of the civil law of Ireland was, not to render justice between man and man, but to seduce or force the great majority of its inhabitants to change their religion. For this purpose the Catholics were excluded from the liberal professions, from the universities, from public offices—bidden to educate their children, to purchase lands, to engage in trade, by being excluded from the corporations which had a commercial monopoly;—bidden, in short, to be any thing but the Serfs of a Protestant aristocracy. The meekest, humblest people would have hated a law, which seemed to exist merely for the purpose of oppressing or converting the Catholics; and for securing to the Protestant landlord his rent, to the Protestant clergyman his tithe.

The criminal law is, if such a thing be possible, an object of still bitterer detestation. In the first place, it is the support of the civil law. When the one orders a distress, or an ejectment, the other compels obedience. In the second place, the criminal law has long been the punisher of acts in themselves innocent, or even meritorious. Within living memory, it punished the Catholic priest for performing the offices of religion; the Catholic

teacher who ventured to give instruction; the Catholic parent who sent a child abroad to receive the education which was denied to him at home; and the Catholic pilgrim who visited a spot sacred to him by its associations. In blind imitation of the English model, the ordinary jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, was given to the local aristocracy, and thus the Catholic tenant found in his judge a Protestant landlord. It is probable that injustice was often perpetrated, it is certain that it was always suspected; and as far as public opinion is concerned, there is little difference between the reality and the suspicion.

Hatred of the law naturally tends to attempts to render it inefficient; and the mode which the Irish have almost always adopted, has been the establishing a rival law with rules and sanctions of its own. What have been, or what are, the provisions of that law, cannot be accurately stated. It is not a Code, but a sort of Common Law, of which those who carry it into effect are the interpreters, and which must be inferred from precedents. Its general objects are, to elude those parts of the real law, or to prevent that conduct in the higher classes, which the labouring classes or the peasantry think injurious to themselves. It varies, therefore, from time to time, and from place to place. It may be divided, however, into two great classes—the insurrectionary law of the country, and the insurrectionary law of the towns.

In rural districts, the particular object has been, sometimes to lower rents, sometimes to lower or to abolish tithes, sometimes to abolish rates, sometimes to reduce the dues of the Catholic priests, sometimes to raise the price of labour, sometimes to prevent the employment of strangers—but always to prevent ejection. Nor has the rural insurrectionary law ever been universal. It has been a partial disorder, and generally an intermittent one. It must be remembered, however, that the absence of such a law cannot be inferred from the absence of outrage. *That* absence may arise merely from implicit obedience. The usual cause of outrage is some act by an owner of land, or an employer of labour, which the peasantry consider mischievous. Those who think themselves wronged, or who fear the influence of the example, proceed from cottage to cottage, and seduce or terrify the men to swear to obey their orders, and to force their neighbours to take a similar oath. The confederates probably possess some arms, and obtain others by plundering the houses which are known to contain them. The leaders then order the torture, mutilation, or death of those who have been guilty of conduct which they think injurious to their order, and sometimes also that of their families and of their relations. The sentence is generally inflicted by persons summoned

from a distance, who receive their travelling expenses and a small fee for their services.

These punishments have the peculiar attribute which distinguishes legal executions from the violences of private resentment. They are directed, not against the person but the act. They are exemplary rather than vindictive. They fall less on the instigator of the conduct which is intended to be repressed, than on the instruments through whom he has acted. In general, the victim is not the proprietor who has ejected a tenant, but the peasant who has succeeded to the vacant tenement; it is not the landlord who exacts a rent which the self-appointed legislators think too high, but the tenant who pays it; it is not the farmer who has hired a stranger, but the stranger who has ventured to be hired; it is not the priest who makes what they think an improper demand, but the parishioner who submits to it. Regardless, too, as they appear to be, of human suffering, they prefer prevention to punishment. After having struck terror by their first executions, they proceed to send or publish notices requiring certain things to be done, or to be forborne, and leave unmolested those who immediately obey.

The insurrectionary law of the towns differs from that of the country only in its immediate object. It aims at influencing the relation between employer and labourer, instead of that between landlord and tenant. It differs from the combinations which our careless, or indolent, or timid legislature still permits to injure the welfare, and destroy the morality, of the Scotch and English work-people, only by the still grosser folly of its immediate ends, and the still more sanguinary ferocity of its means. To prevent the use of machinery—to force the materials of labour to be imported in the least finished state—to prohibit piece-work—to equalize the wages of the skilful and the ignorant, of the diligent and the idle, of the strong and the weak—and generally to force the manufacturer to employ his capital, and the mechanist and chemist his knowledge and talents, only under the dictation of his short-sighted and rapacious workmen;—such are the objects of the combined work-people who now govern every town in Ireland in which any manufacturing capital still lingers. The means are those used in the country—torture, mutilation, and murder. ‘In Cork,’ said Mr O’Connell—in the speech in which, on the 13th February 1838, he moved for a committee on Trades Unions—‘within the last two or three years, thirty-seven persons have been burned with vitriol, so as to lose their eyesight; and in Dublin there is not a day in which some such crime is not committed. On the 4th of January, a man was dreadfully beaten, only because, not belonging to the combina-

'tion, he could not give the sign of recognition. On the 11th, a man and his wife were violently beaten, merely because the man was not a combinator. Some of those who have not murdered with their own hands, have paid three shillings a-week out of their wages for the hire of assassins.'

'It might be supposed,' say the Hand-loom Commissioners, 'that no tyranny could be more absolute, more oppressive, or more merciless, than that of a Glasgow combination. But the state of Dublin is as much worse than that of Glasgow, as the constant presence of a disease is worse than a tendency to its recurrence. The disposition to outrage, to maim, to assassinate, which in Glasgow appears gradually to grow with the misery of a prolonged strike, seems in Dublin to be an habitual feeling. In both places assassination appears to be deliberately planned and executed; but while in Glasgow it is the last weapon resorted to, in a desperate strife, in Dublin it is inflicted in the mere wantonness of power.* It is thus that not merely is the introduction of capital prevented, but the capital formerly existing and employed in many of the towns of Ireland has been driven away. It is thus that ship-building, once a flourishing trade in Dublin, has been utterly destroyed; it is thus that the bargemen have rendered the canals almost useless.

'Ireland,' says one of the witnesses in the Poor-law Inquiry, 'is the dearest country in the world for labour. Every description of artizan demands at least one-third more than in England: there is even a combination among the common porters on the quay, who would rather starve than work under the regulated price. Bribery has no effect on my men, and if I remonstrate they stop directly.'† One of the most intelligent witnesses examined by the House of Commons' committee on combinations in 1838, was Mr Murray, formerly eminent in Dublin as an architect and builder. He had been thirty-seven years in business at the head, or nearly the head, of his profession. During that time he had been severely beaten himself. He had been forced for two years to carry arms. One of his men had been beaten to death in broad daylight, at six o'clock in a summer evening, in a crowded street; another had been shot. At three different times his workmen had been attacked, beaten, and maimed in his own yard. At other times they had been waylaid and injured in their way to him; and his whole establishment had been mali-

* Commissioners of Hand-loom Weavers' Report, p. 108.

† Irish Poor-law Inquiry, App. c. pp. 2, 35.

ciously set fire to and burned down. To some questions respecting his workmen, he answers—‘ They have all gone from me now, for ‘ I am going to leave the country.’—‘ Why?’—‘ I am going to ‘ leave it altogether. I have two little boys that I want to rear ‘ up to industry, and I do not like to rear them up in Ireland.’”

Whether in the country or in the towns—whether the object be to affect the relations between landlord and tenant, or those between capitalist and workman—there is one offence which the insurrectionary legislators and administrators always punish with the most pertinacious ferocity, and that is, the assisting their natural enemies, the legal courts of justice. Here again is shown their tendency to attack the instrument rather than the principal. The judge, the jury, the public prosecutor, even the policeman, is generally safe, but nothing but flight can secure the informer or the witnesses. Any man, woman, or child, who has had the misfortune to be called on, and to be able to give evidence respecting what is called an outrage, must elect between perjury, expatriation, and death. Crimes may be committed in the presence of hundreds, the criminals may be notorious throughout a whole district, and no voluntary evidence be obtainable. The administrators of justice are therefore forced to rely, almost exclusively, on the testimony which in Scotland or in England is cautiously received even as supplementary—the testimony of accomplices. When an outrage has been perpetrated, all those suspected to have been concerned in it are arrested, in the hope that some one of them may be induced to betray the others. If all are firm, all escape; and one more is added to the mass of undetected crimes. If one of them yield to the fear of being anticipated in his revelations by another, he is detained in prison for his own sake until his testimony has been used, and then he and all his family, perhaps his relations, must leave Ireland for ever.

Of course, the imperial law is most detested when it comes into collision with the insurrectionary law, and attempts to punish what that law has commanded; but, as we have already stated, all real law is an object of hatred to the mass of the Irish people. ‘ If a man picks your pocket,’ says Mr Barrington, ‘ the bystanders will hustle you to let him escape. They think ‘ it an honour to protect any one who is charged with an offence.’ He is asked whether that feeling is not peculiar to cases of agrarian outrage—whether, in cases of robbery, the peasantry

are not anxious to have the robber apprehended? and answers—
 ‘ I have known *some few cases* in which the farmers have pursued
 ‘ robbers, and the consequence was, *it being so unusual*, that
 ‘ they were handsomely rewarded. They do not like to see a
 ‘ man prosecuted; they will assist him to escape if they can.
 ‘ You will find it very difficult to get a witness against a person;
 ‘ while hundreds will be found to swear an *alibi*, or any thing
 ‘ else to save him.’* Those who have assisted in giving effect
 to the law are not safe even in England, if they are surrounded
 by an Irish population. A remarkable instance is mentioned in
 the report on the Irish poor in Great Britain. A young Irish-
 man in Wigan informed the magistrates, that two men then in
 the town had committed a rape and robbery in Ireland, and had
 fled from justice. Repeated attempts were made by the Irish in
 Wigan to murder both him and his brother. He was severely
 wounded, and at length driven from the place.†

It is obvious that the insecurity of a community in which the
 bulk of the population form a conspiracy against the law, must
 prevent the importation of capital; must occasion much of what
 is accumulated there to be exported; and must diminish the mo-
 tives and the means of accumulation. Who will send his prop-
 erty to a place where he cannot rely on its being protected?
 Who will voluntarily establish himself in a country which to-
 morrow may be in a state of disturbance? A state in which, to
 use the words of Chief Justice Bushe, ‘houses, and barns, and
 ‘ granaries are leveled, crops are laid waste, pasture lands are
 ‘ ploughed, plantations are torn up, meadows are thrown open to
 ‘ cattle, cattle are maimed, tortured, killed; persons are visited
 ‘ by parties of banditti, who inflict cruel torture, mutilate their
 ‘ limbs, or beat them almost to death; men who have in any way
 ‘ become obnoxious to the insurgents, or opposed their system,
 ‘ or refused to participate in their outrages, are deliberately
 ‘ assassinated in the open day; and sometimes the unoffending
 ‘ members of a family are indiscriminately murdered by burning
 ‘ the habitation.’‡ A state in which even those best able to pro-
 tect themselves, the gentry, are forced to build up all their lower
 windows with stone and mortar; to admit light only into one
 sitting-room, and not into all the windows of that room; to for-

* Cited, Lewis's *Irish Disturbances*, p. 253.

† Appendix to Report on Irish Poor in Great Britain, p. 87.

‡ Charge on the Maryborough Commission, p. 5. Cited in Lewis's
Irish Disturbances, p. 227.

tify every other inlet by bullet-proof barricadoes; to station sentinels around during all the night, and the greater part of the day; and to keep fire-arms in all the bedrooms, and even on the side-table at breakfast and dinner time.* Well might even Bishop Doyle exclaim—‘I do not blame the absentees; I would be an absentee myself if I could.’

The state of society which has been described may be considered as a proof of the grossest ignorance; for what can be a greater proof of ignorance than a systematic opposition to law, carried on at the constant risk of liberty and of life, and producing, where it is most successful, in the rural districts, one level of hopeless poverty, and in the towns, weeks of high wages, and months without employment;—a system in which tremendous risks and frightful suffering are the means, and general misery is the result? The ignorance, however, which marks the greater part of the population of Ireland, is not merely ignorance of the moral and political tendency of their conduct—an ignorance in which the lower orders of many more advanced communities participate—but ignorance of the businesses which are their daily occupations. It is ignorance, not as citizens and subjects, but as cultivators and labourers. They are ignorant of the proper rotation of crops, of the preservation and use of manure—in a word, of the means by which the land, for which they are ready to sacrifice their neighbours’ lives, and to risk their own, is to be made productive. Their manufactures, such as they are, are rude and imperfect, and the Irish labourer, whether peasant or artizan, who emigrates to Great Britain, never possesses skill sufficient to raise him above the lowest rank in his trade.

Indolence—the last of the causes to which we have attributed the existing misery of Ireland—is not so much an independent source of evil, as the result of the combination of all the others. The Irishman does not belong to the races that are by nature averse from toil. In England, or Scotland, or America, he can work hard. He is said, indeed, to require more overlooking than the natives of any of these countries; and to be less capable, or, to speak more correctly, to be less willing, to surmount difficulties by patient intellectual exertion; but no danger deters, no disagreeableness disgusts, no bodily fatigue discourages him.

But in his own country he is indolent. All who have compared the habits of the hired artizans, or of the agricultural

* See the evidence of Mr Blacker, House of Commons’ Report on the State of Ireland, 1824, p. 75; that of Mr Griffiths, *ibid.* 232; and that of Mr Blacker, House of Lords’ Report, 1824, p. 14.

labourers; in Ireland, with those of similar classes in England or Scotland, admit the inferiority in industry of the former. The indolence of the great mass of the people, the occupiers of land, is obvious even to the passing traveller. Even in Ulster—the province in which, as we have already remarked, the peculiarities of the Irish character are least exhibited—not only are the cabins, and even the farm-houses, deformed within and without by accumulations of filth which the least exertion would remove; but the land itself is suffered to waste a great portion of its productive power. We have ourselves seen field after field in which the weeds covered as much space as the crops. From the time that his crops are sown or planted until they are reaped, the peasant and his family are cowering over the fire, or smoking or lounging before the door; when an hour or two a-day employed in weeding their potatoes, or oats, or flax, would perhaps increase the produce by one-third.

The indolence of the Irish artizan is sufficiently accounted for by the combinations which, by prohibiting piece-work, requiring all workmen to be paid by the day, and at the same rate, and prohibiting a good workman from exerting himself, have destroyed the motives to industry. ‘I considered it,’ says Mr Murray, ‘a very hard rule among them, that the worst workman that ever took a tool in his hand, should be paid the same as the best—but that is the rule and regulation of the society; and that there was only a certain quantity of work allowed to be done; so that, if one workman could turn more work out of his hands, he durst not go on with it. There is no such thing as piece-work; and if a bad man is not able to get through his work, a good workman dare not go further than he does.’*

The indolence of the agricultural labourer arises, perhaps, principally from his labour being almost always day-work, and in a great measure a mere payment of a debt—a mere mode of working out his rent. That of the occupier may be attributed to a combination of causes. In the first place, a man must be master of himself to a degree not common even among the educated classes, before he can be trusted to be his own task-master. Even among the British manufacturers, confessedly the most industrious labourers in Europe, those who work in their own houses are comparatively idle and irregular, and yet they work under the stimulus of certain and immediate gain. The Irish

* House of Commons' Committee on Combinations, 1838—Questions, 5872—5876.

occupier, working for a distant object, dependant in some measure on the seasons, and with no one to control, or even to advise him, puts off till to-morrow what need not necessarily be done to-day—puts off till next year what need not necessarily be done this year, and ultimately leaves much totally undone.

Again, there is no damper so effectual as liability to taxation proportioned to the apparent means of payment. It is by this instrument that the Turkish government has destroyed the industry, the wealth, and ultimately the population, of what were once the most flourishing portions of Asia—perhaps of the world. It is thus that the *taille* ruined the agriculture of the most fertile portions of France. Now the Irish occupier has long been subject to this depressing influence, and from various sources. The competition for land has raised rents to an amount which can be paid only under favourable circumstances. Any accident throws the tenant into an arrear, and the arrear is kept a subsisting charge, to be enforced if he should appear capable of paying it. If any of the signs of prosperity are detected in his crop, or his cabin, or his clothes, or his food, some old demand may be brought up against him. Again, in many districts a practice prevails of letting land to several tenants, each of whom is responsible for the whole rent. It is not merely the consequence, but the intention, that those who can afford to pay should pay for those who cannot. Again, it is from taxation, regulated by apparent property, that all the revenues of the Irish Catholic Church are drawn. The half-yearly offerings, the fees on marriages and christenings, and, what is more important, the contributions to the priest made on those occasions by the friends of the parties, are all assessed by public opinion, according to the supposed means of the payer. An example of the mode in which this works, occurred a few months ago, within our own knowledge. L.300 was wanted by a loan fund, in a Catholic district in the north of Ireland. In the night, one of the farmers, a man apparently poor, came to his landlord, the principal proprietor in the neighbourhood, and offered to lend the money, if the circumstance could be kept from his priest. His motive for concealment was asked, and he answered that, if the priest knew that he had L.300 at interest, his dues would be doubled. Secrecy was promised, and a stocking was brought from its hiding place in the roof, filled with notes and coin, which had been accumulating for years until a secret investment could be found. Again, for many years past, a similar taxation has existed for political purposes;—the Catholic Rent, the O'Connell Tribute, and the Repeal Rent, like every other tax that is unsanctioned by law, must be exacted to a larger or smaller amount from every

cottier or farmer, as he is supposed to be better or worse able to provide them.

Who can wonder that the cultivator, who is exposed to these influences, should want the industry and economy which give prosperity to the small farmer of Belgium? What motive has he for industry and economy? It may be said that he has the same motive in kind, though not in degree, as the inhabitants of a happier country; since the new demand to which any increase of his means would expose him probably would not exhaust the whole of that increase. The same might be said of the subjects of the Pasha. There are inequalities of fortune among the cultivators of Egypt just as there were inequalities in that part of France which was under the *taille*. No taxation ever exhausted the whole surplus income of all its victims. But when a man cannot calculate the extent to which the exaction may go—when all that he knows is, that the more he appears to have the more will be demanded—when he knows that every additional comfort which he is seen to enjoy, and every additional productive instrument which he is found to possess, may be the pretext for a fresh extortion, he turns careless or sulky—he yields to the strong temptation of indolence and of immediate excitement and enjoyment—he becomes less industrious, and therefore produces less—he becomes less frugal, and therefore if he save at all, saves a smaller portion of that smaller product.

We trust that it will not be supposed that we have attempted a portrait of the Irish people. We have attended only to those parts of their character which most affect their economical condition. Other qualities, and these very admirable, such as parental, filial, and conjugal affection and fidelity, liberality, and readiness to assist one another in distress, they possess in a high degree. But these have nothing to do with the matter before us. We must add, that if any of our readers think that, with respect to the points which we have treated, our picture has been unfavourable, we refer them to Bishop Doyle, who certainly cannot be accused of ignorance of his countrymen, or of any wish to misrepresent them. We recommend to them his Pastoral Letter on tithes;—a production containing some theories from which we dissent, and betraying some feelings with which we do not sympathize; but which no one can read without admiring the genius of the writer, and feeling convinced of his sincerity. The drunkenness which he ascribed to his countrymen has ceased, we hope permanently, to deform them; but we doubt whether they have much changed in other respects during the twelve years that have passed since that Letter was written. ‘What,’ says Bishop Doyle, ‘are the sources of your evils? A disregard of

‘ yourselves, springing out of your own worthlessness, your own idleness, your own drunkenness, your own want of energy and industry in improving your own condition. These are *your* vices, the fruits of long and grinding oppression—the almost hereditary vices of the Irish people. Your situation never can or will improve until unceasing industry succeed to idleness; until obedience to the laws, and self-respect become the character of the Irish people. Till then, you may complain of oppression, but it will not cease. You may rail against the law, but it will always persecute you. You may hate the magistrate, but he will always have his foot upon your necks. You complain of rackrents and tithes, and want of employment, and of the ejectment of poor tenants. You complain of all these, and you complain of them most justly. But no power on earth can at once remedy these evils. The Government and Legislature are endeavouring to heal them; but time is necessary for the accomplishment of so great, so good, and so difficult a work. More, however, depends on you than on the will of kings, or on the acts of a parliament. All the laws that ever were enacted would not render an idle or a vicious people rich or happy. And if men become sober and industrious, abstaining from evil and doing good, each in the state of life or calling wherein Providence has placed him, such a people, without almost any aid from law or government, would enjoy comfort and happiness.’ *

So far our task has been easy. It is easy, at least comparatively so, to describe the Moral and Material defects of Ireland. It is easy to show how mutually they act and react. It is easy to show how insecurity occasions want of capital—how want of capital occasions idleness and misery—and how idleness and misery lead to turbulence and insecurity, until the result is a circle of calamities, each in turn creating, aggravating, and recreating the others. It may appear, at first sight, equally easy to point out the appropriate remedies. The debates of the last session seem to have exhausted the subject, and to have left to us merely the task of selection and repetition. To a great extent this is true. We have little to add to what has been stated by Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Howick; and we do not hope to improve the clearness of their statements, or the force of their arguments. Our real difficulty lies in the necessity of compression. It lies in the necessity of bringing within the compass of an article of reasonable extent

* Appendix to Lords' Report on Tithes. 1832. Vol. ii. p. 52,
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subjects which, if adequately treated, would require volumes. We shall attempt, however, to indicate the principal remedies, in the hope that our brief exposition of them, may awaken the interest, and direct the enquiries of those who are not conversant with Irish questions, and may serve as memorandums to those to whom they are familiar.

We have already said that the great evil of Ireland, the evil which creates or perpetuates all her other calamities, is the insecurity of person and property; arising from the detestation, by the mass of the people, of her existing institutions, and their attempts to substitute for them an insurrectionary law of their own.

It is obvious that the first step towards the cure of this detestation must be to remove its causes: the first step towards making the institutions of Ireland popular must be to make them deserve to be so. If, indeed, they were already deserving of popularity—if the existing law were odious in Ireland, from causes unconnected with its defects, the remedy would be difficult—and, if these causes were irremovable, would be hopeless. But this is an impossible supposition. No population hates the mass of its existing laws without sufficient reason. The tendency is in the opposite direction. The tendency is to cling to whatever is established, merely because it is established; although the motive for its original adoption was erroneous, or has ceased to exist. A single good institution may indeed be unpopular, if it be new, as is the case in some English districts with the amended Poor-Law; or a bad one may be hated though it be old, as was the case with the unreformed Franchise; but no long established system was ever the subject of popular dislike unless it deserved to be so;—unless it were not merely imperfect—all human institutions are imperfect—but obviously, and in important matters, unjust and mischievous.

No one, whatever be his party, whatever be his religion, has been able, while he read the last sentence, to prevent his thoughts from turning to the provision made in Ireland for the Religion of the people. That the episcopal palaces, the episcopal estates, the chapter estates, the parsonages, the glebes, and the tithes of the whole country should be given over to one-tenth of its population; that another tenth should receive a regular provision for its clergy from the imperial revenue; and that the remaining four-fifths should obtain no public aid in supplying their spiritual wants, except a trifling annual vote for a seminary; that the endowed minority should be the richest, and the unassisted majority the poorest portion of the community; that the minority

should be the intruders into an endowment of which the majority were the ancient founders and possessors,—all this some may think an injury, others an insult, and others, among whom we find ourselves, may think it an insult and injury combined : some may suppose that it is the unhappy but necessary link by which Great Britain and Ireland are united ; others that it is the wedge that is to separate them : some may believe that it is one of the outworks of the Church of England ; others that it affords the platform from which that Church can be most easily attacked. But no British statesman, whether Tory or Whig, Conservative or Radical, however he may think it ought to be dealt with in practice, dares to defend, or even to palliate it in principle. No one ventures to affirm that, if the past could be recalled, he would propose such an institution—no one would tamely submit to the imputation of such folly and such injustice—no one, in a word, conceals his regret that our ancestors were guilty of such an absurdity and such a crime. If such are the feelings of bystanders, what must be those of sufferers ? If Protestants are filled with shame and remorse, what can be expected from Catholics but indignation and hatred ?

We have said that the ecclesiastical system of Ireland is both an injury and an insult. As an insult it has no parallel in history. Oppression and robbery in matters connected with religion have been unhappily frequent ; but in all other cases the oppressed and robbed have been the minority. That one-tenth of the population of a great country should appropriate to themselves the endowment originally provided for all their countrymen ; that without even condescending to enquire whether there were or were not a congregation of their own persuasion to profit by them, they should seize the revenues of every benefice, should divert them from their previous application, and should hand them over to an incumbent of their own, to be wasted as a sinecure if they were not wanted for the performance of a duty—this is a treatment of which the contumely stings more sharply even than the injustice, enormous as that is.

It is important, however, that they should be accurately distinguished. The *insult* consists not in the absence of an ecclesiastical provision for the Catholics, but in the transfer of the Catholic endowment to a small Protestant minority. If that endowment, instead of being transferred, had been confiscated ;—if it had been given up to the landlords, or sold for the benefit of the imperial revenue, and no public provision made for any religion whatever, a grievous injury would have been inflicted, but no insult. On the other hand, the *injury* consists not in the provision made for the Protestants, but in the absence of a pro-

vision for the Catholics. If, when Protestant bishops were appointed to every Irish diocese, Protestant dignitaries to every chapter, and Protestant incumbents to every benefice, an equivalent stipend had been paid out of the imperial revenue to the Catholic clergy, the Catholics would have been insulted but not injured.

Those who undertake the miserable office of defending the existing ecclesiastical arrangements in Ireland, are forced to confound these separate grievances. When the Catholics complain of the injury inflicted by the absence of a public provision for their spiritual wants, they are told that the absence of such a provision is not an insult. They are told that they have no more right to complain than the Protestant Episcopalians have in Scotland, or the Presbyterians in England. When they complain of the insult offered to them by the endowment of the Protestant church, they are told that the Protestant endowment is not an injury. They are told that tithes are merely a form of rent; and that the Protestant incumbents and dignitaries are merely landlords bound to residence, and generally distinguished by the knowledge and the morals on which the usefulness of a resident landlord depends.

It is on the insult alone that the Irish revolutionary party has fastened. They adopt what has been called the 'voluntary system;' and therefore not merely deny that the absence of an endowment for the Catholic clergy is an injury, but maintain that it is a benefit. Their motives for expressing this opinion we shall explain hereafter; but admitting, what we are ready to admit, that there may be certain states of society in which the 'voluntary system' may be advantageous, every impartial person must feel that, when applied to the Catholic population of Ireland, it is eminently mischievous.

For this purpose, it is sufficient to recollect, That the frequent ceremonial observances of Catholicism require a much more numerous clergy than would be necessary in an equal number of Protestants; That the Irish Catholics form the poorest part of the poorest civilized population in the world—a population with little division of labour, little exchange, and scarcely any use of money; That to extract a regular income in money from a congregation so composed, must require a constant urging of small demands—a constant contest with poverty and fraud, to which no man with the birth, the education, or the feelings of a gentleman, could readily submit; That an exaction not sanctioned by law must be enforced by influence; and that the easiest modes of obtaining influence among the uneducated, are to inflame their passions, to aggravate their antipathies, and to exaggerate their superstitions;

and that, under such circumstances, the spiritual instruction of the people must fall into the hands of a clergy little raised by birth or by connexion above the mass of their flocks ;—living among the peasantry, participating in their feelings and prejudices ;—popular, powerful, and comparatively rich, while they obey the will of the people, by appearing to lead it ; but poor, weak, and defenceless—without authority, without sympathy, without subsistence—and, what in that country is equally important, without protection, as soon as they oppose it.

But we will not let this matter rest solely on inference from general principles. We will support and illustrate our views by the direct evidence of Mr O'Croly, for many years the parish priest of Ovens and Aglis in the South of Ireland. As Mr O'Croly has since quitted the Catholic communion, it is probable that at the time when he wrote, though he was outwardly a member of that communion, it had even then lost its hold on his respect and his affection. His mere inferences, therefore, must be cautiously examined, as they may be tinged with anti-Catholic prejudices ; but we see no reason to doubt the accuracy of his facts, when he speaks from his own knowledge.

'The revenue,' says he, 'of the parish priest is derived from a variety of sources. There are confession dues, marriage dues, baptism dues, mass dues, and dues for anointing. He is also paid at times for attendance at funerals. Confession furnishes the most steady and constant source. Twice a-year he collects confession-money under the denomination of Christmas and Easter offerings. The priest selects one or two houses in every ploughland or neighbourhood, where he holds, according to appointment, what are called "stations of confession ;" and it is required that the families all about should meet him, make their confessions, receive the holy sacrament, and finally pay the customary dues. It sometimes happens that this business is not transacted quietly. If increased dues are demanded—a thing of occasional occurrence—disagreeable and sometimes scandalous altercations ensue. Similar scenes occur when individuals attend and crave time for payment ; while such as absent themselves, unless they send the dues as an apology, are generally made the subject of public exposure.

'Come we now to another item of ecclesiastical revenue—marriage-money. The first thing done, when there is question of marrying a couple, is to make a bargain about the marriage-money. The priest drives as hard a bargain as he can, and strives to make the most of the occasion. But this is only a preliminary proceeding. Demands of money are made upon such as are present at the marriage—at least upon the male portion of the assembly. In general the demands are considered unreasonable. Some endeavour to evade the payment of any contribution—others give little ; and the few that please the priest are exceptions. What is the consequence ? The clergyman, after entreating for some time to little purpose, gets at length into a rage—utters bitter in-

vectives—abuses, perhaps, the whole company, and is abused himself in turn, until the house becomes a scene of confusion and uproar.

‘Baptism-money comes next. The general rule is to baptize at private houses, or at the priest’s house or lodgings. The father of the infant pays, as they say, for the baptism; the gossip-money is demanded of the sponsors, and, if not satisfactorily paid, scenes of abuse and recrimination frequently ensue—similar, indeed, to what takes place on occasion of marriages, only upon a smaller scale.

‘The custom of anointing is considered, in this country, to be of the last importance; so that no misfortune is accounted greater than to depart this life without its reception. This rite is often administered under most distressing circumstances—amidst sickness, lamentation, destitution, and want; yet money is demanded.’

‘Other bad consequences arise out of the present system of church support. Let us view the conduct of the priests as instructors of their people. Their congregations every where have shown an utter disregard to law and to the constituted authorities; nothing among them but sedition and insubordination—burning and maiming—murder and massacre. What did the priests, the guides and pastors of the people, do under these circumstances? It would be too much, perhaps, to say that the priests themselves were the original instigators of the misguided multitude. There is no doubt that many of them acted a prominent part in the business; and the impression on the minds of the common people was, and is, that the priests gave it their full and unqualified sanction. But many of them yielded reluctantly to the torrent, and appeared to give their approbation to that which they in reality condemned. Can it be said that the present state of clerical dependence had no share in determining this conduct? The multitude held the strings of the clerical purse; and wo betide the unfortunate priest who would set himself in opposition to their wishes. The common cry was, that they would not uphold any priest who would not back them in their proceedings. The dread of poverty and of being cast off by those to whom they looked for subsistence, contributed powerfully to make the body at large become mere time-servers. It was a kind of general apostasy, arising from base considerations of self-interest; accordingly, they either preached or countenanced lawless combination.*

It is not to be supposed that we believe this to be a true representation of the whole body of the Catholic priesthood of Ireland. We have no such belief. We know that there are among them men as pure, as sincerely pious, and as high-minded as in any priesthood in Europe. But though we are satisfied that Mr O’Croly’s representation does not apply to even a majority of the Irish Catholic priests—though we believe that there are but few marked by all the bad qualities, and degrading characteristics which he has imputed too indiscriminately to the general body—

* *Essay on Ecclesiastical Finance*, by the Rev. D. O’Croly, p. 28 to 40. 3d ed. 1834.

we, at the same time, believe that his inferences, though much too sweeping, are deduced from facts—from instances observed by himself—and that his testimony as to the existence of such facts is worthy of credit.

We do not believe that the priests ever preached actual outrage; but we do believe that there were cases in which they did not do their utmost to prevent it; and many in which they shared the opinions and feelings from which it proceeded. They belong to the peasants by birth; they are connected with them by social intercourse; and they come little in contact with any others, either during their education or during their ministry. The only public opinion which they fear is that of their own congregations, and of their own body; and there certainly is nothing in their position to make them less hostile than those around them to the institutions of their country. They owe nothing to the existing law. The theory of that law is, that there is in Ireland neither a Catholic laity nor a Catholic priesthood. It does not secure them in their revenues or in their benefices; they have no property for it to protect; they have no families whom its subversion might ruin; it offers no prizes to their vanity or their ambition; the only notice which it takes of them is to allow them to be chaplains to jails and workhouses—to prohibit their being Poor-law guardians. They feel more deeply than any other portion of the people the recollection of old, and the presence of existing wrongs. Their predecessors were legally murdered, and they see every day the churches and cathedrals from which those predecessors were expelled. While they are forced to wring their subsistence from a half-starved peasantry, they see in every benefice an Anglican incumbent enjoying, often for doing nothing, or what they believe to be worse than nothing, the parsonage, the glebe, and the revenue which they think ought to belong to themselves.

We have already said that no permanent improvement in the physical condition of the Irish people, no increase in their capital, or in the productiveness of their industry, can be hoped while their present hostility to the law, and the consequent insecurity of person and property, continue. But, while this is the position, and these are the feelings, of those specially set apart to teach the people, what is the sort of instruction and advice which is to be expected? What is to be hoped when, to the misery of the flock, is added the hostility of the pastor—a pastor, too, armed with such all-powerful weapons as confession, penance, and absolution?—when the priests attribute their degradation, and the people their wretchedness, to one common enemy, the law?

So far we expect no material disagreement among that portion of the public who are our readers. We believe that the great majority admit, that one grand, if not the first effectual step towards the recovery of Ireland, is to relieve the Catholic population from the irritating and misdirecting influences to which both the laity and the clergy are subjected, by the loss of the original endowment of their church. But while the necessity of supplying that loss, at least to a certain degree, is conceded, there are differences of opinion; first, as to the expediency of obtaining the previous consent of the Catholic clergy; secondly, as to the fund from which the proposed provision should be taken; and thirdly, as to the principles on which the amount should depend.

Some persons maintain that no arrangement of this kind can be made without the active co-operation, or at least the expressed acquiescence, of the priesthood; others, that no such co-operation, or even acquiescence, can be obtained, but that the offer can be made, so that it will be ultimately and beneficially accepted. Some have proposed that the intended endowment should be taken from a part of that which is now appropriated to the Protestant Establishment; others, that it should be taken from the general revenue of the state. And, lastly, some have proposed that the state should supply the whole, or the far greater part of the necessary provision; others, that it should supply only a portion, and that not necessarily the greater portion.

We will consider these three questions separately.

On the first question, it will occur to those who recollect what we have formerly written on this subject—for this is not by any means the first time that we have urged this measure—that we have always supposed it to be effected with the active co-operation of the Catholic clergy. No one can doubt the advantage of obtaining that co-operation, and we believe that until within a short period it was obtainable. In 1825, when, on the motion of Lord Francis Egerton, the House of Commons resolved—‘That it is expedient that a provision should be made by law towards the maintenance of the Roman Catholic clergy exercising religious functions in Ireland’—many of the most eminent of the Catholic clergy and laity were examined on this subject. It will be worth the reader’s while to consult the evidence published in that year by the Commons’ Committee on the state of Ireland,—particularly that of Mr O’Connell, and of the Catholic Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Tuam, and of the Catholic Bishops of Kildare and Ardagh. ‘I beg to state,’ said Mr O’Connell, ‘that I am thoroughly convinced that the object of the Catholic clergy and laity in Ireland is sincerely and honestly to concur with the government in every measure that shall increase the strength

‘ of the government in Ireland, so as to consolidate Ireland with ‘ England completely.’ * And for effecting this consolidation his two measures were, first, emancipation; and secondly, a provision for the Catholic church. His evidence on the latter subject is remarkable, not only in itself, but as having been volunteered. Not a suggestion, not a hint as to such a provision had been given to him, when, after disposing of a question on a different subject, he added—

‘ I think it would be unwise in the government, if emancipation were carried, (and until it was carried the Catholic clergy would not accept of a provision,) to leave the Catholic priesthood unprovided. I think it would be extremely wrong in the government to give them any part of the revenue of the present church establishment, and that they would not accept of it; but I think a wise government would preserve the fidelity and attachment of the Catholic clergy by what I call the golden link, by pecuniary provision, so that the government should be as secure, in all its movements towards foreign powers, of the Catholic clergy, as they now are of the Protestant clergy; that they should be, in short, a portion of the subjects of the government and the state, identified with them. Our wish would be, that the government should have proper influence over them, which a certain pecuniary connexion would give. Our wish would be, that the government should be strong by the combination of the subjects. Our anxiety is, to become subjects out and out, as the Protestants are.’

‘ Have you had communication on this subject with the clergy high in the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland?’—‘ I have spoken upon the subject with those gentlemen: without pledging myself for all of them, I understand that their sentiments coincide entirely with those which I have had the honour to express. The late Catholic bishop of Kerry was a cousin-german of mine—a man of very clear and distinct intellect. He was anxious for that arrangement, and, I am sure, anxious for it from the purest motives.’—‘ Your opinion is, that, coupled with emancipation, that would be accepted by the Catholic clergy?’—‘ My opinion is, that, coupled with or following emancipation, it would be acceptable, but not preceding it; and my humble opinion is, that it would be a most desirable thing to have that species of settlement take place after emancipation. The consequence would be, that the Catholic clergy would become in the nature of officers belonging to the crown, forwarding the views of government in every case where there was not something that revolted in general, such as harsh or unconstitutional illegal measures; but that the general tenor of their conduct would be decidedly in support of the government, and perhaps even in instances that theoretic friends of the constitution would not wish for. I believe the propensity of the Catholic clergy is very much towards an unqualified submission to the law, and to the government, whatever it may be.†

* Minutes of Evidence, p. 120.

† Ibid. p. 81–82.

We believe that the opportunity dwelt upon in this remarkable piece of evidence, has been lost. When the Wellington cabinet conceded emancipation, they conceded only what they felt themselves unable to refuse; and as a provision for the Catholic clergy was not demanded—as the only motives were its utility and justice—they did not choose even to consider a proposal which could benefit only the Empire, and might probably injure the party. The omission did not arise from inattention. ‘I fear,’ said the Duke of Wellington, in the debate of the 10th of June 1828, ‘that Catholic emancipation will not be found a remedy, unless we could find a means of connecting the Roman Catholic Church with the Government of the country.’* In 1829, the noble Duke chose to forget this fear, or at least to suppress it; but Sir Robert Peel, speaking in the same room in which the House of Commons, only four years before, had resolved, ‘That it is expedient that a provision should be made for the Roman Catholic clergy,’ could not refuse to comply with that resolution, without alluding to the subject. He escaped, however, under a cloud of unwarranted assumptions, unmeaning generalities, and cowardly objections. He assumed that such a provision implied a negotiation with the court of Rome, and he thought ‘that such a negotiation would be revolting to the feelings of Englishmen, and to the pride and independence of this country. He thought that such a provision would be a departure from the great principle which insures the inviolability of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; and repugnant to the feelings of the country.’†

The busy administration of Lord Grey was filled by matters perhaps equally important and more urgent; and it would have been useless, perhaps mischievous, for the Melbourne cabinet, with a small majority in one house, and a small minority in the other—never allowed to carry a measure which their adversaries thought likely to be popular—to make a proposal, which, if it escaped the sectarian and factious opposition of one house, was sure to perish by that of the other. The result was, that the Catholic clergy, feeling as bitterly as the rest of their countrymen the insult of the Protestant establishment, and still more bitterly the injury of their own destitution—receiving neither aid, nor countenance, nor even protection, from the government—were partly tempted and partly terrified into taking part in the resistance to tithes. And having once joined in an insurrectionary movement—having once proclaimed that those who disapprove a law are

* *Mirror of Parliament*, p. 1906.

† See his Speech—March 5, 1829, *Mirror of Parl.* 428.

justified in breaking it, and in forcing others to break it—they betrayed, what till then had been unknown, that they could be used as instruments by any party which could turn upon them the opinion of their flocks.

Among the parties which distract Ireland, the most active, and in proportion to its numbers the most powerful, is the revolutionary party;—a party to which we know no counterpart in the history of any civilized country. All other parties (we are speaking now not of mere demagogues or agitators for individual and personal purposes, but of parties) seek as their ultimate object the public good, however they may mistake the means of promoting it. The Chartists and the Ultra-Tories, the Anti-corn-law League and the Farmer's Friends, all really believe that their success would be a public blessing. But the object of the Irish revolutionary party is not the general welfare of the united empire; it is not even the general welfare of Ireland, either as a part of the united empire or as a separate republic; their real objects are to overthrow the Protestant church, to confiscate the Protestant estates, and to retaliate on the Protestant party the injuries and insults of centuries. As they know that this cannot be effected under a British sovereign, they strive to separate themselves from Britain; as a means of effecting that separation, they strive to repeal the legislative Union; and, as a means to that repeal, they strive to make the united government work ill. By confirming the prejudices, misleading the expectations, aggravating the antipathies, and inflaming the malevolent passions of the least educated classes, this party has obtained great influence among those on whom the priests are dependent for their incomes, and for their popularity. The priests have now again, as they had when the anti-tithe war was raging, to choose between their duty and their immediate interest. But they have to choose under circumstances still more unfavourable. Having already become parties to a combination, to defeat by violence and terror a law, unjust indeed, and mischievous, but still a law; and having succeeded in so defeating it—having sanctioned the frightful doctrine, that the end justifies the means, and having obtained by atrocious means a useful end—they have lost the power to oppose the popular will by arguments founded on the principles of Christianity, or even of mere morality. We suspect, indeed, that there are few among them who wish to oppose it. It is probable that some are sufficiently ignorant to believe that Repeal may be peaceably obtained, and when obtained will be beneficial. Others know that the path to it is through civil war; but try to think that the gain will be worth the sacrifice, and perhaps comfort

themselves with the reflection that their profession will exempt them from its dangers ; and a few, we fear, share the ambitious and malignant passions of the anarchical party, and are willing to encounter any risks and any calamities, in the hope of inflicting ruin and subjugation on the Protestant and the Saxon. The greater part, however, we believe, have no clear notions either as to the objects or the means of the Repealers ; but they see that they are the majority ; they feel that they can be opposed only at the risk of fortune, reputation, and even life, and they join in the popular cry without knowing or much caring what it signifies. But we are, notwithstanding, willing to believe, that there are many lay repealers quite untainted by the revolutionary spirit ; and who sincerely, though vainly imagine, that the constitution of 1782 could be restored, without leading to separation. There are some also who join in the cry for Repeal as supporting some selfish interest ; and others as a means merely of bullying England into concessions.

The same motives which urge us earnestly to desire a public provision for the Catholic clergy, urge the revolutionary party fiercely to oppose one. In order to convince the people of Ireland that they cannot prosper under the imperial government, it is their business to take care that they shall not prosper. It is their business to perpetuate and exasperate every grievance. Nothing, therefore, excites their anger more than a proposal to remove by one measure both an oppression and an irritation.

We do not reckon Mr O'Connell among the sincere Repealers. He knows too much to believe that Repeal can be obtained except by force ; and he has too much to lose to desire a sanguinary contest, in which power would accompany not the qualities which he possesses, popular eloquence and legal knowledge, but those which he wants, military skill and indifference to danger. We believe, too, that he has too much political sagacity not to be aware that Repeal, even if obtained, must produce separation—separation war between the North and the South of Ireland, and between the South and Great Britain ; until all the calamities of the seventeenth century shall be repeated, and Ireland thrown back into the state of abject, hopeless misery, under which she lay torpid for nearly a century.

But though he cannot be a sincere Repealer, though he must despise the credulity, and fear the violence of those who are ; yet, unfortunately for himself and his country, all his angry, and all his selfish passions, appear to drive him to manifest the same feelings and to express the same opinions as the revolutionary party. He appears to be inflamed by all the religious and

national-antipathies of his least civilized countrymen; and he has to avenge his own failure in the British Parliament, and, what is more stinging, in British society. On most points his immediate objects and those of the Repealers coincide. Unless Ireland can be kept in a state of chronic discontent, *they* must abandon, or at least suspend, their schemes; and *he* must submit to a diminution of his power, of his wealth, of his patronage, and, what perhaps is still more important, of the admiration and applause which habit has made an excitement necessary to his happiness. He is as earnest, therefore, as the sincerest Repealer, in obstructing a proposal which, by rendering Ireland tranquil, might render her prosperous, and, by rendering her prosperous, render her contented.

Under such circumstances, it would of course be useless to negotiate with the priests as to a measure which, whatever may be their own opinions, or their own wishes, their masters require them to oppose. We believe, indeed, that the mere attempt at such a negotiation would, for a time at least, defeat the plan. Propose to them, as a body, to accept a provision—they would spit upon it. Attempt to starve them into compliance, by prohibiting dues and fees—their congregations would, for a time, make to them larger payments, and more readily. It would be represented as an attempt to bribe the sheep-dogs in order to make havoc of the flock. Nothing could more effectually cement the union of the priest and the people against the law. But if the provision were offered as a part of a general system of conciliation, recommended by previous conciliatory acts or appointments—if it were offered in such a way as to be a mere act of bounty or of justice—if it implied no interference between the priest and his congregation, or between the bishop and the priest—if the money were issued to government commissioners, whose duty it should be to distribute it among those whom they had ascertained to be the Catholic officiating clergy, and each priest were simply informed that his share was at a banker's, ready to be drawn for as soon as he thought fit—we have no doubt that it would ultimately be accepted, though perhaps tardily, reluctantly, and ungraciously. And when once people's minds had become accustomed to it, the laity would feel the blessing of the diminution of a heavy and irregular tax, and the priests that of escaping from a state of uncertainty, of dependence, and of pecuniary strife; which must interrupt their comfort, wound their self-respect, and obstruct their usefulness. Contrarily to what is commonly the case, the obligation would be much more felt than expressed. And here we beg it may be understood, that we are fully aware of the great advances in intelligence and liberality, that have of late years been exemplified among the Catholic

priesthood, in spite of the adverse circumstances connected with its dependent condition—advances which afford the strongest reasons for anticipating results, in the highest degree creditable to the Order, were this great, humane, and liberalizing measure carried thoroughly into effect.

We now come to the second question, namely, the fund from which the provision for the Catholic church should be made. The proposal that that provision should be taken, altogether or in part, from the existing endowment of the Protestant establishment, is one as to which we know there is a strong difference of opinion; and we do not say that there are not some plausible grounds for that difference. Our own opinion is decidedly against any interference with the present Protestant endowment. The contrary proposal necessarily assumes, that that endowment affords a surplus not only large, but immediately available. But as no British statesman ever will propose to interfere with the incomes of the existing established clergy, many years must elapse before any considerable assistance could be derived from the property which they now enjoy. The provision for the Catholic clergy must not be a reversion to take effect on the deaths of the existing Protestant incumbents. It is obvious that to postpone, for the sake of a pecuniary saving, equal perhaps to the Imperial revenue for *three days*, a measure once admitted to be right—once admitted to be necessary to the morality, the peace, and the prosperity of Ireland—would be an insult which not even the fiercest Orangemen would venture, or would desire, to offer.

And even if it were possible to take from the Protestant endowment a large and immediately available fund, we should lament the division of that endowment between the two churches. We should lament it because, unless the division were final, it would add a new and active element to the dissensions of Ireland. It would throw down the endowment as a prize to be fought for by proselytism, by patronage, by exclusive dealing, by persecution; in short, by all the weapons which, in a chronic civil war, are likely to be seized by an ignorant, bigoted, and sanguinary population—a population which poverty, idleness, party spirit, religious and national animosity, carelessness of human life, and indifference to human suffering, mark out for envenomed agitation. And on what principle could a final division be founded? On the relative numbers of Catholics and Protestants? That proportion is constantly changing, and, what is more important, it may be made to change. In one district the Protestants, in another the Catholics, may be seduced, or frightened away, or rooted out. On property? That is still more changeable than numbers.

But perhaps it may be said, the division should be grounded on

numbers, or on property, or on a combination of both, such as they stand now; and should be declared irrevocable, however its original elements may subsequently vary. This is just what Canute did when he placed his throne at low-water mark. How is this generation to fetter the will of its successors? How is it to provide that its edicts shall be adhered to, when the circumstances which justified them are altered? Nothing is more common than a law which, though intended to be temporary, has become permanent. Nothing is more rare than a law which, professing to be unalterable, has continued unaltered. The reason is clear. In ordinary cases legislators take their chance. They enact what they think convenient for the time, leaving their successors to modify or repeal it. But when an institution is the result of a compromise, the party that has been on the defensive naturally fears that the concession which it makes may be followed by further demands. In the hope of preventing, or at least delaying such demands, or of providing a further argument to oppose to them, it requires that the existing arrangement shall be declared to be final. And the other side never objects, for it well knows that such a *proviso* is mere waste paper; and that it is not on its presence or absence, but on the interests of the two parties, and on their relative strength, that the durability of the arrangement depends. Between individuals, or between federal states, where the sanction of a court of justice, or of a diet, can be invoked, such stipulations are efficient. But their insertion, when there is no superior by whom they can be enforced, is merely an evidence that the parties to the compromise do not believe in its permanence. Like the engagements at the beginning of every treaty, that peace and friendship between the two contracting powers shall be eternal, instead of affording strength, they are mere indications of weakness.

If the Catholic clergy are to receive any portion of the Protestant endowment, we believe that the best course, the course best not only for the tranquillity of Ireland, but for the safety of the Protestant establishment, will be to give to them the whole, and to let the Protestant establishment depend altogether on the state. But even if such a measure could be carried, which we are convinced that it could not, it is open to the decisive objection, that a provision for the Irish Catholic clergy, arising from land in Ireland, would not tend to produce the intimate union between the British islands which is essential to the welfare of both. The object of every statesman must be that the Irish Catholic, and particularly the most influential portion of them, the priests, should feel themselves, to use Mr O'Connell's words, 'subjects out and out, as the Protestants are.' This

feeling will be produced by a provision derived from the imperial revenue, and can be produced by nothing else.

On the third question—the extent to which the Catholic endowment should be carried—if it were possible to relieve the people from the whole burden, and to give to the priesthood complete independence, we should much prefer it. But, even in England, the Established Church receives, from fees, offerings, pew-rents, rates voted in vestry, and subscriptions, all of them sources of income, independent of its endowment, more than one million and a half a-year. If the richest ecclesiastical endowment which the world has ever seen requires a large voluntary aid, it can scarcely be expected that any which we can give to the Irish Catholic Church will in itself be sufficient. We propose to make a provision which shall remedy its most pressing wants, and protect its ministers from the temptations of dependence; but on no occasion to prohibit, and in some important matters to facilitate, its receiving voluntary assistance.

The three wants of the Catholic population, as Catholics, are churches for the laity, and residences and stipends for the priests. They possess, indeed, according to the return made by the Commissioners of Public Instruction, 2105 places of worship; but, even if these 2105 buildings were as capacious as the average of English churches, they would be insufficient for six millions and a half of people, distributed in unequal proportions over a large country. This is obvious, when we compare the Catholic church room with the 1534 places of worship provided for only 850,000 Protestant Episcopalians; or even with the 855 chapels of the 660,000 dissenters. But, in fact, a large number of what are called Catholic chapels are places affording shelter only to the priest, and those immediately around him, while part of the congregation are kneeling outside in the rain or the snow. And even these chapels, miserable and inadequate as they are, the Catholic Church holds by no certain tenure. The churches, the cathedrals, the glebes, the sites, and the estates of the Established Church, are vested in corporations. The property of the Catholic Church is not recognized by law as public property. It is obliged, therefore, to be left in the hands of individuals; at the risk of loss by accident or fraud, and subject to the constant expense of the appointment and re-appointment of trustees. As to residences appropriated to the priests, there are none. They must hire houses or lodgings, and, to a great extent, are domesticated in the farmers' families—a domestication always objectionable, and peculiarly so when the population is imperfectly civilized, and the priest in many respects resembles them.

The first remedy is obviously the removal of mere legal obstacles. For this purpose, we would beg to recommend the creation

of a Corporation aggregate, to be depositaries of the legal estate in the public property of the Irish Catholic Church, and to be empowered to acquire, by purchase, donation, devise, or bequest, lands or money for Catholic ecclesiastical purposes. If the express co-operation of the Catholic clergy could be previously obtained—of which we have already stated our disbelief—this Corporation might be constituted principally of the Catholic prelates. As things are, it must be selected from the most eminent of the Catholic laity. To this Corporation we would further recommend, that a sum be annually issued to be employed in the purchase of sites; the erection, enlargement, and repair of Catholic chapels; the purchase of glebes and erection of glebe-houses; and for providing the requisites for the celebration of divine service;—in fact, to be employed for the purposes for which church-rates are raised in England.

In its disposal of the fund, the Commissioners would probably follow the plan of which experience has shown the economy. They would proportion their grants to the sums contributed from other sources. In England, indeed, this plan is subject to the inconvenience, that the richest district receives the most assistance, and the poorest the least. But in Ireland there are not the congestions of wealth which belong to tranquil countries. A dense population will, indeed, be able to contribute more than a scattered one; but, in the same proportion, it will want more accommodation. Considering the importance of the object, the strong religious feelings of the Irish, and the sympathy which the destitution of their church excites throughout the Catholic world, we have no doubt that large sums would be voluntarily contributed. If L.50,000 a-year were issued to the Commissioners, we believe that nearly as much, including the value of lands and buildings, might be expected from the public, especially from testamentary dispositions, or donations to take effect after the donor's death.

The provisions of the 59 Geo. III. c. 134, and the 3 Geo. IV. c. 72, authorising the drawback of duties on materials used in building, rebuilding, or enlarging the churches of the Establishment must, of course, be extended to Catholic chapels. The amount of this drawback in England alone amounted, during the last twenty years, to L.244,196, 13s. 2d.—a sum more than equal to the expense of building 250 chapels, affording the modest accommodation with which the Irish Catholics are contented. It is a striking instance of the indifference with which their spiritual wants have been treated, that this trifling favour—if the not exacting a tax from the hardly wrung efforts to support their religion, made by the poorest part of a poor nation, can be called a

favour—should now, for the first time, be suggested. To have refused it, would indeed have been bigotry; but not to have thought of it, was much worse—it was negligence originating in contempt.

We believe, that if two-thirds of the aggregate amount contributed by the state, and by individuals, for building purposes, were devoted to chapels, and the remainder to residences, sufficient church accommodation, and glebe-houses sufficient for the small wants of an unmarried priesthood, might be provided. The keeping up the chapels, however, and the supply of the requisites for divine service, would require a considerable expense—an expense likely to receive much less voluntary aid. In England, though the repairs of the parsonage and of the chancel fall on the rector, more than L.500,000 is annually raised by church-rates; and yet the part of the population which adheres to the Established Church can scarcely exceed thirteen millions. The annual expenditure of the Irish Ecclesiastical commission, for similar purposes, for the benefit of the 850,000 Protestants, amounts to more than L.75,000 a-year; and is stated by the Commissioners to be grossly inadequate. We doubt, therefore, whether the wants of 6,500,000 Irish Catholics can be adequately supplied, unless the State will continue to assist them, to the extent of at least L.50,000 a-year; being one-tenth of the church rates of England, and not two-thirds of what is received from it for similar purposes by the Protestant Episcopalians of Ireland.

Let us now consider the amount of provision requisite for the personal wants of the Catholic clergy.

In 1825, Lord Francis Egerton estimated the parochial clergy at 2000, and the dignitaries at 56—that is to say, 1000 parish priests, 1000 coadjutors or curates, 4 archbishops, 22 bishops, and 80 deans; and this estimate appears to have been nearly accurate, as the Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction states the whole number of the Catholic clergy to be 2074. He proposed to give annually to each archbishop L.1500—to each bishop L.1000, and to each dean L.300; and to divide the parochial clergy into three classes; to allot to 200 of them L.200, a-year each—to 800, L.120 a-year—and to the remaining 1000, L.60 a-year each—making a total expense of L.233,000 a-year. As respects the dignitaries, such a provision would much exceed their present incomes. Bishop Doyle, in 1825, said that his income was less than L.500 a-year. It seems, however, to have been inadequate. ‘At the same time,’ he added, ‘I may be permitted to state, that the income of a bishop is charged with very heavy incumbrances, considering its quantity; for I am obliged

‘to contribute to every charitable institution—to assist in the erecting and supporting of schools—to feed a considerable number of the poor; in fact, if it were not for some help I occasionally receive from friends, I could not afford to keep a horse or a servant.’* Dr Kelly, the Catholic archbishop of Tuam, states that his revenues never had amounted to £.700 in a year, and, on an average, did not exceed £.500;† yet each of these prelates held, besides his diocese, two benefices. But when we consider the incumbrances, to use Bishop Doyle’s words, to which all ecclesiastical revenues, and peculiarly those of an Irish Catholic ecclesiastic, are subject—when we consider the importance of attracting into the Catholic Church some persons of better education and higher connexions than those by whom it is now filled—and, lastly, when we recollect that the incomes of the Catholic dignitaries will always be compared with those enjoyed by the Protestants—in the face of all these considerations we do not think Lord Francis Egerton’s proposition excessive. The whole amount—the whole provision for the dignitaries of a church, whose members exceed half the number of the members of the Established Church in England, is not much greater than the revenue of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It may be observed that the scale appears to have been suggested by Mr O’Connell, who recommended from £.800 to £.1000 a-year to be the stipend of a bishop, and from £.1400 to £.1500 to be that of an archbishop.

The amount of the provision proposed by Lord Francis Egerton for the parochial clergy appears also to have been suggested by Mr O’Connell. The aggregate is £.196,000 a-year, founded on the assumption that 1000 parish priests, and 1000 coadjutors or curates, are to be provided for; which gives, within a fraction, £.200 a-year to be divided between each parish priest and his coadjutor—£.200 a-year being the sum which Mr O’Connell stated to cover the expense of both priest and curate.§ Bishop Doyle’s estimate is nearly the same; and, being founded on examination, is more to be relied on. He stated (in 1825) that there were forty-four parishes in his diocese; that in four of them the priest’s income amounted to £.400 a-year; that in fourteen others it somewhat exceeded £.200, and in all the rest, varied between £.200 and £.100.|| This would give about £.190 per parish—to be divided between the priest and coadjutor; and his was a poor diocese. How much of this income arises from annual, and how much from occasional payments, it is diffi-

* Commons’ Report, 1825, p. 185.

† Ibid. p. 83.

‡ Ibid. 1825, p. 246.

§ Ibid. p. 83.

|| Ibid. p. 186.

cult to say. In one case Bishop Doyle estimates the occasional payments at one-fourth. The Catholic bishops, priests, and laymen, who were examined in 1825, all stated their belief, that if a provision were given by the state, the annual payments would be nearly discontinued, and the occasional ones diminished in amount. We think it certain that, eventually, the aggregate reduction would not be less than three-fourths. If, then, Lord Egerton's scale were adopted, the average income of each benefice would be about L.250 a-year, of which L.200 would be contributed by the state, and L.50 by the people. This sum, divided between the priest and his coadjutor—each of whom, it must be recollected, must keep a horse, for the calls on a Catholic clergyman are too numerous, and the parishes too extensive, to allow him to go to his duties on foot—would afford a decent maintenance, but certainly not an excessive one. The priest would remain dependent on his congregation for superfluities, and for money to be expended in charity; but would not be driven by necessity to subservience or to extortion; and the peasantry would be relieved from a charge which is still more injurious from its uncertainty than from its amount.

The whole expense of what we have recommended, including the expenses of management; and also including not only the usual but an increased grant to Maynooth College, would not exceed L.320,000 a-year—a sum scarcely exceeding three-fifths of the church-rates annually raised in England, and extorted from Catholics and Dissenters as well as from Churchmen. But we must express, as strongly as words can express it, our conviction, that the proposed provision must be made, not by a revocable grant, not by an annual vote involving an annual discussion, an annual effusion of bigotry and spite, an annual publication of mischievous falsehoods and still more mischievous truths—but by one perfect donation. The Catholics form so insignificant a minority, both in the Commons and in the Lords, that they cannot be expected to trust any arrangement which a single vote by either house might interrupt. Whether the object be to obliterate the insult or to remove the injury, of which we have been guilty towards the Catholic laity; or to raise the character and increase the usefulness of the priesthood, the means must be as permanent as we wish the effects to be. We recommend that a three per cent, or, to mark more clearly its durability, a two per cent stock, of which the dividends should equal the intended provision, be created and placed in the name of the Commissioners. The Irish church will then have the best security which exists in Europe, the security possessed by the public creditor of Great Britain.

We have already stated our wish to attract into the ranks of the Catholic clergy, men of a higher station than that of those by whom it is now supplied. We agree with Mr O'Connell that it is dangerous that the priests should be 'so much under the influence of very low people, as they necessarily are, when all their relations are in the very lowest stage of society.' We do not expect indeed that, under any circumstances, many of the gentry will become priests. No man, certainly no young man, unless he be an enthusiast, or be tempted by the immediate prospect of some considerable ecclesiastical dignity, or be in such a station as to feel that the priesthood will raise him into a decidedly superior rank, will take orders subject to the restrictions and observances which Catholic orders impose. In no part of Europe do the working Catholic clergy belong to the highest classes. But it is much to be wished that they should not belong to the lowest. It is much to be wished that they should not enter on their mission—that they should not become the guides, the directors, and, in many respects, the absolute masters of the consciences of their flocks—with no experience and no associations but those of the cabin and the seminary. An endowment without doubt will do much. The sons of the greater farmers and shopkeepers, and the middle classes generally—when the progress of improvement shall have given to Ireland middle classes—will be ready to enter into a profession which will offer the certainty of a decent maintenance, and the prospect of considerable and very alluring prizes. This will be a great advantage. What a boy sees and hears at home—the feelings and habits which he acquires before he quits his father's house—form the most important elements in his character; and, within limits which do not apply to the present subject, the higher the station of the parent the better is this parental education.

But we are anxious to improve, not only the domestic but the Collegiate education of those who are designed for the Catholic ministry. At present the only public institutions open to them are Trinity College, Dublin, where they may take degrees, but cannot be admitted on the foundation; and Maynooth, where about 250 pupils receive nearly gratuitous maintenance and instruction, and about 200 more pay about L.21 a-year a-piece, being somewhat below the cost of their maintenance. The private seminaries are more numerous. The largest, we believe, is at Carlow; where, in 1825, from sixty to eighty candidates

for the priesthood were lodged and boarded at an expense, as far as we can infer it from Bishop Doyle's evidence, of 25 guineas a-year a-piece, but paid nothing specifically for instruction.

We do not recommend, however, that any additional facilities be given to eleemosynary clerical education. Such an education has a double tendency to degrade the clerical character. In the first place, the introduction of a large proportion of men of the humblest class throws, especially among so aristocratic a body as the Irish gentry, a general discredit on the whole profession. And secondly, the additional number of competitors of course renders the profession less attractive to those who have any other prospects, by lessening the chance of advancement. When the expense of the English universities was kept so low, and the supply of foundations, in proportion to the establishment, was so great, that a large proportion of the English clergy were gratuitously educated, they generally belonged to the lower orders. Notwithstanding the high prizes of the English establishment, the gentry would not enter a profession in which the majority were of inferior birth. The clergy of the Church of England have risen to their present rank—the highest which any clergy, as a body, has ever held—only since the provisions for their eleemosynary education have become unimportant.

But we recommend that Maynooth be incorporated, be allowed to grant degrees, be allowed to take money and lands by donation, devise or bequest; and that the present parsimonious annual grant of L.8928 be augmented by a sum specifically appropriated to the increase of the salaries of the officers, who are now absurdly underpaid; to the purchase and keeping up of a good library, and proper instruments, and collections, for the study of the physical sciences; to prizes for compositions, which should be printed as well as recited; and, what is of more importance, to the erection of rooms for a new class of students, to be admitted on such terms as may render their residence profitable to the establishment. At present, the Catholic clergy are almost excluded from the society of the gentry, and the exclusion rankles in their minds. They probably attribute it to religious antipathy. But before Maynooth and the other Irish seminaries were instituted, when the priests were educated abroad, and possessed the knowledge and the manners of the higher classes, they lived with them familiarly. It is impossible to force men into a society for which they are unfit; and it is not easy to exclude them from one in which they have the power of pleasing. If Maynooth were raised to the rank of an University, if free scope were given to all those who might wish to be its benefactors, if its professorships were made objects of ambition, and the means of

receiving students of a better order were secured, and the Irish Catholic Church rendered a more eligible profession, we have no doubt that in a short time a considerable portion of its members would belong to a higher class than that which now supplies them, and would form, in the social chain, the link of which Mr O'Connell, though with apparent reluctance, admitted the utility and the want.*

The measures which we have proposed would remove the injury of which the Irish Catholics, as Catholics, have to complain; but they would not even palliate the insult. The Protestant Church would remain a memorial that Ireland is not a part of the United Empire, but a dependent province—a province in which one of the most important institutions is mismanaged, and a large portion of the national property is wasted, with an insolent carelessness, of which no domestic legislature—we may say no domestic tyrant—could be guilty. The details of the Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction in Ireland show a capricious misdistribution of the existing ecclesiastical endowment, more resembling the freaks of madness than the acts of legislators. It is obvious, however, that this misdistribution was not the intentional act of any government. The statesmen who gave over to Protestant incumbents the benefices into which they found Ireland divided, assumed, and probably believed, that all the Irish either were Protestants, or would speedily become so. And the events which they had witnessed in England, indeed throughout Europe, seemed to warrant such a belief. The folly and the wickedness rests with those who, when they found that Ireland, instead of becoming Protestant, was becoming every year more and more Catholic, obstinately maintained the arrangements which had been made on the opposite supposition. Our fathers were guilty of this folly and of this wickedness; but from the weakness of those whom they oppressed and insulted, they escaped its punishment. If the present generation persist in it, they can hardly hope for the same impunity.

It appears to us that the first thing to be done is, to substitute as the principle of the religious instruction of the Protestants in Ireland, the Congregational for the Territorial system. By the expression 'Territorial system,' we mean that under which a whole country is divided into districts, each possessing a minister endowed with a portion of its ecclesiastical revenues,

whatever be their amount, and bound to afford his services to its inhabitants, whatever be their number; whether that number be so large as to force him to employ one or more curates, or so small as to make his duties almost a sinecure. By 'Congregational system,' we mean that under which, not the territory, but the number of members of a given church is divided into cures, to each of which a minister is appointed, with an endowment proportioned to the real demand for his services. The territorial system is a natural one, where the whole population which adopts it, professes the same form of religion; and where the endowment, arising from land, is, in fact, an expense to no one, but is a mere substitution of a clerical for a lay landlord. The congregational system is that which, with one exception, has been adopted for every church whose tenets have been embraced by only a minority of the people. It is in this manner that the clergy of all the different classes of dissenters in England, of the Episcopalians in Scotland, of the Presbyterians in Ireland, of the Protestants in the Catholic portions of Europe, and of the Catholics in the Protestant portions, are provided for. In the whole history of the world, Ireland affords a solitary instance in which the territorial system has been persisted in as the provision for the clergy of a minority; and the wisdom of the attempt may be inferred from its results. We say *persisted* in, because Ireland is not the only country in which the experiment has been made. The Stuarts endeavoured to treat Scotland in the same way. They gave the benefices into which they found the country divided, to an Episcopalian clergy; and if Scotland had not been strong enough to throw off the yoke, Sir Robert Peel would, probably, at this instant, have been talking of the United Church of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and denouncing as sacrilege, any interference with the sinecures of the diocese of St Andrews.

What we propose, then, is, that the system which has been adopted with respect to the Church of a minority in every country in the civilized world, be now at last extended to the Protestant Church of Ireland; and that the congregational system be substituted for the territorial.

Such is the carelessness of the British public for Irish matters, that many of our readers will be surprised to be told, that eight years ago this change was proposed in parliament, by a member of the present government; that it was approved by the principal members of the present Opposition; and that, as far as can be inferred from the debate, it would have passed the House of Commons, if Sir Robert Peel, without disapproving the principle, had not objected to the time at which it was introduced.

It will be recollected that Lord Morpeth's tithe bill of 1835, nearly the first measure of the Melbourne Administration, contained clauses sequestering, on vacancy, all benefices not containing fifty Protestant Episcopalians, and vesting the revenues in the Ecclesiastical commissioners. On the bringing up of the report on this bill on the 7th of August 1835, Mr Bingham Baring moved the insertion of some clauses, which are to be found in the House of Commons' papers of July 1835, (O—84.) These clauses did not deal with the sequestered benefices, but as to all others provided—

‘ That as they became vacant, they and all their emoluments should vest in the Ecclesiastical commissioners, and form an endowment fund.

‘ That the Ecclesiastical commissioners should have power, from time to time, to alter the limits of benefices, (the consent of the incumbent being obtained if the benefice were full,) and to endow them from the endowment fund.

‘ That the altered or newly created benefices should be termed vicarages, and be in the patronage of the bishop; or, if in the dioceses of more than one bishop, in the patronage of such one of those bishops as the commissioners should appoint.*

‘ And lastly—That the commissioners should purchase the advowsons which are private property, and be empowered to borrow for that purpose on the security of the endowment fund.’

The debate is ill reported—better in Hansard's Debates than any where else, but even there very briefly. Every speaker approved of the principle. Lord Morpeth apologized for its omission in his own bill, only by the probability that the extensiveness of the change would have provoked opposition. Mr Spring Rice was ready to adopt the clauses at once, and to adopt them as a duty to the Protestants. Lord John Russell expressed so decided a concurrence, that Sir Robert Peel got alarmed, and asked, ‘ Would the noble lord, at this late period of the session, and when he had not even read the clauses, press the discussion of this important question?’† and the result was, that Lord John said, that though he was glad that the clauses had been brought forward, he thought that a better opportunity would arrive for effecting their object. The measure was admitted to be just, to be beneficial, to be necessary; but it was found to be important, and on that ground, and on that ground only, it was rejected. *

* The only lay patron to be retained was Trinity College, which was to have new vicarages assigned to it.

† ‘ Times’ of August 8th, 1835.

It is difficult to avoid the painful conclusion, that the excellence of the proposal was the real motive of Sir Robert Peel's opposition. The plea that he had not had time to consider it, was obviously futile. The notice of motion had been in the book for weeks; and no one can believe that so material a step could have been taken by one of his most accomplished followers, the son of one of the members of his cabinet, without his privity, we might almost say, his concurrence. But he felt that it would improve a bill which he had resolved that the House of Lords should throw out; and to this miserable party feeling he sacrificed, according to his custom, the utility and safety of the Irish Protestant Church, and the morals and instruction of the Irish Protestant people. As for Lord John Russell, he, without doubt, believed that a better opportunity would come. He was at that time in the first months of his restoration; he had beaten down the Tory rebellion in a parliament of their own choosing, and could look forward to an indefinite duration of power. But the opportunity never came; and this is one of the many instances which prove that in politics, as in war, nothing should be left for to-morrow that can be done to-day. If Mr Baring's resolutions had been incorporated in the tithe bill of 1835, they would probably have passed in that of 1838. By this time they would have been nearly six years in operation. In that interval, a fourth of the Irish benefices have become vacant, and probably another fourth might have been remodelled, with the assent of the incumbents. By this time, half the anomalies of the Irish church, half of what Lord Morpeth denounced as 'livings without duties, 'clergy without flocks, and pay without work, the worst gains 'of the sinecurist kept up on the worst principles of the bigot,' might have disappeared. *Diis aliter visum est.*

Something more, however, must be done, before we arrive at what the Whig leaders have boldly and truly declared to be essential—the equality of the two religions. The liability of every cultivated acre in Ireland to contribute towards the support of the church of the Protestant minority, is necessarily felt by the Catholic majority as a badge of subjugation. That the land belongs chiefly to the Protestants, is not a defence, scarcely a palliation. In the first place, though the land may belong to the Protestant landlord, the tithe does not. It is not his, it never was his, and, unless he obtain it by purchase or by robbery, it never will be his. It is a portion of the public property which no domestic legislature would employ as it is now employed. And in the second place, the disproportion between Protestant and Catholic land is an anomaly which is diminishing every year, and which every one must wish to see extinct; it is the mischievous result, and the dangerous memorial, of British

spoliation and oppression. It is monstrous that we should attempt to profit by our own wrong, and plead as a justification a state of things which we ought to be eager to remedy, and almost ashamed to confess.

If we look at the history of the Irish tithe question from its commencement down to the act which created the tithe rent charge in 1838, we shall find that the complete redemption of tithes, and the substitution of a new and totally different fund as an endowment for the Protestant Irish Church, have been supported by every party, and, with only one exception, formed part of every measure. The Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, recommended that the state should purchase the rights of the clergy, should become the proprietor of the tithe-rent charge, and should sell it to the landowners on the principle on which the land-tax is redeemed in England. Of the three bills which Mr Stanley, as Irish Secretary, introduced in pursuance of the recommendations of this committee, the third, which he described as the most important, provided for the redemption, by the landlords, of tithe composition at sixteen years' purchase, and gave a further power of purchase to the state. With the usual fate of Irish measures, this bill was allowed to stand over till the next session. In the next session, Mr Stanley ceased to be Secretary for Ireland, and the redemption bill lay untouched. In 1834 it was resumed. Mr Littleton, Mr Stanley's successor, brought in a bill making the tithe composition redeemable at prices varying according to the value of land in each county, from fourteen years' purchase to twenty. In the debate, Mr Stanley and Sir Robert Peel dwelt, in words, for which we wish that we had room, on the necessity of complete redemption. Mr Stanley referred to a letter from himself to Lord Grey in 1831, in which that necessity was urged. Sir Robert Peel said, that redemption alone could give peace, and as usual supported his reasoning by a long string of authorities. The bill was materially altered during that stormy session; and before it passed the House of Commons, a clause was introduced, reducing the tithe composition by forty per cent. This clause occasioned its rejection in the Lords.

In 1835, Sir Henry Hardinge, as Irish Secretary in Sir Robert Peel's administration, proposed and carried a resolution preparatory to an Irish tithe bill. That resolution was, That composition for tithes should be abolished in consideration of a rent charge of L.75 for every L.100 of composition; That such rent charge should be redeemable; and, That the redemption money should be *invested in land or otherwise*, for the benefit of the persons entitled to such composition. About three weeks after this resolution had

been agreed to by the House of Commons, the administration was dissolved, and with it perished almost the only good measure of the hundred days.

Lord Morpeth's bill of 1835, was again a redemption bill; and, as a redemption bill, it was passed by the House of Commons, and would have been passed by the House of Lords, if it had not contained the celebrated clauses appropriating to general education any surplus of the Protestant endowment.

The unsuccessful proposal made by Lord Morpeth in 1836, and repeated by him in 1837, was the exception to which we have alluded, and was the only measure which did not contain clauses for redemption; and this was one of the principal objections dwelt on by Lord Stanley in 1836, and one of the most material points in which his rival bill differed from the ministerial measure.

Even the act of 1838 was founded on resolutions agreed to by the House of Commons, which would have separated the Protestant Church from the land of Ireland. These resolutions were in substance, 'That the tithe composition should be commuted for a rent charge of seventy per cent, charged on the owner of the first estate of inheritance; That it should be collected by the government, and applied to certain local purposes, and to education, and the surplus form part of the consolidated fund; That a sum equal to the rent charge should be paid out of the consolidated fund to the ecclesiastical commissioners, to be by them paid over to the clergy; but that the state should have power to redeem this payment, by paying to the commissioners a sum equal to sixteen years' purchase of the original composition, to be by them invested and managed for the benefit of the clergy. And, that provision should be made for the regulation of ecclesiastical duties, and the better distribution of ecclesiastical revenues in Ireland.

Had these resolutions been carried out, the tithes would have become a mere land tax, distinguished from the county cess merely by being a charge on the owner instead of on the occupier. The parochial clergy of Ireland would have been maintained out of the consolidated fund until their revenues were purchased by the state; and then out of the funds managed for their benefit by the ecclesiastical commissioners, and protected from jealousy and spoliation by being merged in the general mass of national and individual property. And finally, the new distribution of duties and revenues would have made their revenues correspond with their duties, and their duties with the real wants of the Irish Protestants.

Mr O'Connell was well aware of the importance of these resolutions:—'The real question,' he said, 'is, shall the peo-

‘ple of Ireland be amalgamated with the people of England?
 ‘Refuse to receive us into that amalgamation, and abide the
 ‘consequences.’ *

But the evil genius of Ireland was awake. Sir Robert Peel, who in 1834 declared that nothing but the complete redemption of tithes would give peace to Ireland—who in 1835 allowed redemption at only fifteen years’ purchase; and required the tithe rent charge, if not redeemed within three years, to be sold in the market—now saw ‘that there were great difficulties with respect to redemption.’ He now saw that the ‘proposal for investing the purchase money’ was by no means ‘free from embarrassment.’ The governor of the majority in the House of Lords was an irresistible opponent. Nothing could pass against which he thought fit to ‘hesitate dislike.’ It had become absolutely necessary that a tithe bill should at length be carried; and the act of 1838, therefore, was passed, with the omission of those portions which would have most contributed to the safety and to the efficiency of the Protestant Church.

What we recommend is, that the arrangement which, for nearly a quarter of a century, has been exposed to all the criticism of prejudice and party spirit, and has not met with any stronger censure than that it is ‘by no means free from embarrassment’—which has been earnestly supported by every party when in office, and by the leaders of every party when in opposition—be now at length adopted. We will not tease our readers with details, for this is not one of the measures of which the result depends on the details. Whether the resolutions moved by Sir Henry Hardinge in 1835, or by Lord John Russell’s in 1838, be adopted as the basis, the principle is the same, namely, that the ecclesiastical tithe rent charge be vested in Commissioners; That, subject to existing interests, or with the consent of the incumbents, they be required to dispose of it on terms just sufficiently advantageous to insure its sale; That the usual facilities be given to raise money for the purchase, by the sale or mortgage of settled property; and, That the produce, after compensating the private owners of advowsons, be invested in the funds, or on real security, as a part of the endowment of the Protestant Church. The substitution of the congregational for the territorial distribution of the Protestant clergy, implies further, that, subject to existing incumbencies, the glebes be also vested in Commissioners; in order that those which are not wanted may be disposed of, and the purchase money be added to the endowment fund.

These measures would nearly complete the separation of the Protestant Establishment from the land of Ireland, and from what was once the Catholic endowment. It would retain only the glebes of the remodelled benefices, and the lands of the archbishops, bishops, and deans and chapters. With the first of these, of course, we would not interfere; but the second offers the subject of a reform remarkable for its facility, and for its immediate and unmixed utility.

These lands are generally let like Cathedral property in England, at nearly nominal rents, on leases for twenty-one years, renewable on payment of a fine. In England, however, the renewal takes place only at fixed periods. A Bishop of Rochester once adopted the system of renewing all the leases of his episcopal lands, and repeating that renewal every year, so that his successor necessarily found the whole property in lease for twenty years. The Court of Chancery held this to be fraudulent, set aside every lease, and obliged the representatives of the Bishop to compensate the lessees. But the conduct which the English courts stigmatized and cancelled as fraud, is the custom of the Irish dignitaries. They habitually renew every year,—receiving as a fine about one-fifth of what would be the annual rental if the property were in hand; and from this habit they cannot escape except by the sacrifice of their revenues for twenty years. Every year, therefore, the leases of all the cathedral and chapter lands have to be surrendered and renewed. Every year there is the vexation of a new bargain, and the expense of a new lease. Sometimes, however, the Bishop, if young and strong, ventures to run his life against the lease, and refuses to renew; in the hope that, when the twenty years are expired, he may have the land in hand, and either obtain a large fine, or be able to make a lease to a trustee for himself;—more frequently, the tenant is unprovided with the money, or believes that the bishop, from his age, or from want of money, or from the probability of his being translated, may be driven to renew at less than the value; or perhaps the parties really differ in their opinions as to the value.

The necessary consequence is, insecurity and injury to both parties. The tenant does not venture to improve; for he knows that improvement may diminish his chance of renewal, and will increase his fine, and that not, as is the case with ordinary tenures, at the end of his lease, but the very next year, and for ever after. No lands are so ill cultivated, and there are none of which the price, as compared with the annual value, is so low. The average value of fee-simple lands in Ireland is about twenty-two years' purchase. The average value of a bishop's

lease is twelve. . It ought, after deducting the annual fine, to be nearly eighteen years. The difference, equal to one-third of the whole value, is a pure loss, occasioned by the trouble, expense, and insecurity of the tenure.

We recommend that, subject to the interests of existing dignitaries, or with their consent, the remainder of the cathedral lands be vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; or in some other permanent Board, to be by them sold, and the produce added to the endowment fund. It is not a necessary part of this scheme that a new distribution among the Protestant dignitaries should take place; but when we consider the gross anomalies and absurdities of the Irish cathedrals, the discrepancies as to income and as to duties—and, with respect to the majority of the members of the chapters, the absence of any real duty whatever—it is impossible to suppose that a different arrangement would not be made; and, whatever might be its defects, it could not but be an improvement on that which now exists.

The only relic of Protestant ascendancy would now be the presence of the Irish Bishops in the House of Lords; and, if the two sects are to be put on a complete equality, either the Irish Catholic Bishops must also be admitted to that House, or the Protestant be excluded. To the first there are objections, which, whether well founded or not, would, we believe, be found insurmountable. In theory, the Pope nominates the Catholic Bishops of Ireland; in practice, he selects one out of three candidates proposed to him by the clergy, or by a part of the clergy, of the vacant diocese; and this is a real selection. We know that cases have occurred recently in which the selected candidate was not the candidate whom the proposers desired. Now, neither the people of England nor of Scotland, in their present state of feeling, would bear to see men sit as peers by the Pope's nomination. It is unnecessary to enquire as to the grounds of this feeling, or the means of removing it, if the other alternative, the exclusion of the Irish Protestant Bishops, be free from objection. This is a subject as to which we think it likely that none of our readers will differ with us. We believe the exclusion in question to be not only free from objections, but desirable. The vote in the House of Lords, possessed by the Irish Archbishops every other year, and by the Bishops every sixth year, takes them from their dioceses, exposes them to considerable expense, makes it necessary that the income of every see should be much greater than would be otherwise required, and returns no advantage whatever. What can a man do in an assembly of which he is a member only for about twenty-five weeks every sixth year—an assembly careless, fastidious, and eminently intolerant of every

thing new or unusual, and of every speaker whose opinions, or social relations, or even manner, may differ from those to which it is accustomed? By the time that an Irish Bishop has learned something of the tone, and the forms, and the business of the House, his session is over, and he is succeeded by a recruit as raw as his predecessor. Something more might be expected from the Archbishops; but their absence every other year seems, as far as we can judge by the experience of about ten years, to destroy their influence. Few men have personal qualifications superior to those enjoyed by the two present Archbishops. One is a man of high rank, and possesses the confidence of the whole Tory party; the other enjoys a high reputation, and precisely the reputation that gives most weight—reputation for honesty and knowledge, as well as for talents; and who, besides is an effective speaker. But what results have either of them produced? No measure can be carried through that House, by an independent member, unless he can devote his whole attention to it; unless he can bring it forward, session by session, and gradually soften the prejudices of one side of the House, and excite the attention and interest of the other. But this is inconsistent with a mere occasional attendance. It would therefore be better that no Irish Archbishop or Bishop should, as such, vote in the House of Lords. And if a reduction of the incomes of the Protestant Bishops were the consequence, we should think it an additional advantage.

But what, it may be asked, is to be done with the surplus revenue of the Protestant establishment? We see no reason for changing the appropriation which was proposed by the Melbourne government, paying it over to the consolidated fund. If it were specifically appropriated to any other purpose—if it were given, for instance, to the Poor-law Commissioners, or to the Education Board—it would expose the institution so favoured to the hatred of the whole Protestant party in Ireland; or, what is nearly the same thing, of the violent and irrational portion of that party. It would be said to be fed with the spoils of the Church. The consolidated fund can never be unpopular.

At the same time, we must admit, that the arrangements which we have recommended will diminish the apparent surplus. In Ireland, land is sold for about twenty-two years' purchase, and tithe for about sixteen; and the interest on the best mortgages is about four and a half per cent. The returns moved for at the end of the last session, and which will be presented at the beginning of the next, will give what we do not now possess, accurate information as to the revenue of the Irish Church. We will not trouble the reader with guesses as to a matter which will very

soon be known. But, for the mere purpose of illustration, we will suppose that revenue to be L 550,000 a-year. The sale of the property producing that revenue, principally tithe, could not be expected to produce more than twenty years' purchase, or L.11,000,000. This sum could not be satisfactorily invested in Great Britain, so as to produce a net revenue of more than L.350,000 a-year. Invested on land or mortgage in Ireland, it might produce perhaps L.475,000 a-year. But we should be sorry to see much of it invested in the purchase of land there. We do not wish to add to the number of proprietors in that country. Nor would it be advisable to lend it on mortgages at a high rate of interest. It is important that the Protestant church should incur no avoidable unpopularity, and should not have to sue, to eject, to distrain, or to foreclose. We think that the best investment would be picked Irish mortgages, at a rate just below the usual level—perhaps four, and a quarter per cent. The Church would thus obtain the best security that Ireland can give, and would come forward as the friend of the landowner to relieve him from more onerous creditors.

It would be absurd, however, to treat the whole difference between the sums of L.550,000 and L.475,000 as a loss even to the establishment. What was taken away in income would be added in security. A man who gets the whole value of what he parts with, is not a loser because he exchanges a precarious, uncertain, and troublesome revenue, for one that is secure and regular. To sell a West Indian estate and buy a Scotch one, to sell American securities and buy English ones, is no loss, though the transaction must be followed by an immediate decrease of income. If it be wise in an individual, who has to provide for the contingencies of only twenty or thirty years, to select the investment which is the dearest because it is the safest; still more evidently is this wise on the part of an institution which looks forward to an indefinite duration. An annual risk, where the danger at the beginning is one to a hundred, is trifling for the first year, and not great for the first ten years; but amounts to certainty in a hundred years. But while the Church could scarcely be said to be a loser, the country would be a great gainer. It would be a blessing to all the landowners of Ireland to be able to relieve themselves from a variable tax—a tax which they must pay whether they receive their rents or not. It would be a great advantage—an advantage in fact equivalent to an increase of the land of Ireland—that the estates of the Bishops and Chapters should not continue subject to a divided ownership which destroys, as we have seen, nearly one-third of their value. And the sale of these estates, and the power given to incapacitated persons to

sell portions of their lands to redeem the tithe rent charge on the remainder, would throw many small properties into the market; and thus tend to remedy, what we have already stated to be the great physical evil of Ireland, the want of small proprietors.

We now come to a subject on which we expect little difference of opinion among intelligent persons, the provision to be made in Ireland for the education of the young. Among the many benefits conferred on Ireland, between 1830 and 1841, we believe the Education Board to be the greatest. We even believe that it has done more to raise and improve the people than the Repeal agitation has done to barbarise them. The general ignorance of Irish affairs which we are forced to impute to our readers, renders it necessary that we should employ a few lines in describing the constitution, duties, and powers of this Board.

Its members—at present eleven persons—of whom the Protestant and Catholic Archbishops of Dublin are the most prominent, sit by virtue of a commission from the Lord-Lieutenant. Their proceedings are governed by an admirable letter from Mr Stanley, as Irish secretary, dated in October 1831, which directs them to employ their funds in promoting a combined literary and a separate religious education. For this purpose they are to require from the schools which, by accepting their assistance, submit to their influence, that on four or five days of the week, and during appointed hours, moral and literary instruction be given to all the children; the remaining one or two days of every week, and the remaining hours of every other day, being left open for the separate religious instruction of the children of each persuasion, by the teachers whom their parents may approve. The schools which they assist are to be open to their inspection, the books used are to receive their sanction, and the masters are to be liable to be fined, suspended, or removed by their authority. They are to employ their funds in granting aid to the erection of schools, supplying them at half price with books and other school necessities, granting salaries to teachers, paying inspectors, editing and printing school-books, maintaining a model school in Dublin, and a training school for masters, and defraying their own contingent expenses. For these purposes, they have for some years past received an annual parliamentary grant of L.50,000.

The last Report of their proceedings is dated the 21st March 1843. At that time 2721 schools were under the superintendence of the Board, attended by 319,792 children; and they had undertaken to make grants to 200 more schools, to be attended

by 25,703 more children—making a total of 2921 schools, and 345,585 children. They had trained 980 teachers, they had established a model school and a Normal school—that is to say, a school for training masters, in Dublin, and an agricultural school and model farm in the neighbourhood; they had created an establishment of district inspectors of schools, and they had edited a set of elementary school-books, which we have no hesitation in pronouncing the very best in the English language. Their expenditure that year was L.58,500—thus divided: about L.4500 for their model, normal, and agricultural schools; L.10,000 contributed in aid of the building and fitting up of schools; L.30,000 in salaries and gratuities to schoolmasters; L.5000 in inspection; L.3000 loss on their publications; and L.6000 in establishment charges.

All this, however, we are ready to admit, is little when we compare it with the wants of the Irish population. But it is small when we consider the limited powers and funds of the Commissioners, and the bitterness, extent, and power of the opposition which they have had to encounter. It must be confessed that Lord Grey's and Lord Melbourne's governments managed the details of the measure, with the timidity which they consistently, perhaps unavoidably, showed, when they had to meet the sectional prejudices of the Tory majority in the Lords. It was timid to refuse them a Charter, and thus to leave them apparently the mere creatures of the Lord-Lieutenant—liable to be annulled, or altered in character or in functions at the will of a provincial executive. The smallness of the original grant may perhaps be defended. All the previous attempts at the combined education of Protestants and Catholics had failed. They had failed, although all parties had anxiously desired and earnestly endeavoured to promote their success. It would have been presumptuous to rely with confidence on a fresh experiment made under far more unfavourable circumstances;—an experiment of which an active and powerful party in Ireland and in England eagerly wished the failure, and which had to encounter, therefore, not merely honest prejudices, but calumny, misrepresentation, intimidation, and all the other poisoned weapons which Faction seizes when she calls herself Religion.

But when the measure was obviously succeeding—when, in spite of Ultra-Catholics, Ultra-Protestants, Repealers, and Tories—of Archbishop M'Hale, Bishop Philpotts, Lord Roden, and Dr Cooke—the combined system was spreading through every province and every county, and taking root,—to use the expression of one of the witnesses,—in the hearts of the Irish people, the time seemed to have come for making its funds equal to

its wants. And so the government appear to have thought. In May 1835, after the experience of about three years and a half, they required the Board to state 'what extension could be given 'to the new system, consistently with the demand for instruction, 'and the preparation necessary for training schoolmasters, and 'what amount of funds might be annually expended beneficially 'by the state for that purpose?' To this query the Board gave an elaborate answer. Assuming the children between the ages of seven and thirteen years* to be 1,140,000; that half of them would require the aid of the national schools, and that a school ought not to contain much more than 100 scholars; they inferred that 5000 primary national schools ought to be established, each under a competent teacher. Besides these, and besides their own training and model school, they proposed a model school in each county; and that every person desirous of being recommended by the Board as a teacher should first be trained in a provincial model school, and then pass at least two years in the Dublin training school.

They estimated the expense to be contributed by the public towards building the thirty-two model schools at L.24,000—being L.750 per school—towards the five thousand primary schools at L.900,000, being L.180 a-piece, to be distributed over nine years. Why that period was taken does not appear; perhaps it was supposed that it would take that time to train a sufficient number of teachers. The buildings being provided, they estimated the subsequent annual expense at L.200,000, thus distributed:—Official expenses, L.10,000; salaries to teachers, L.156,000; inspection, L.4000; books and school requisites, L.20,000; and training department, L.10,000.

Nearly nine years have passed since this admirably well-digested and comprehensive scheme was proposed. If it had been adopted, it would have cost, during those nine years, about L.1,950,000;—about L.1,500,000 more than has been actually granted to the Board. L.1,500,000 is a considerable saving; but at what a sacrifice has that saving been made! If the scheme of the Commissioners had been adopted, every child in Ireland would now have the means of good moral, intellectual, and religious education! Every parish would have two or three peaceful spots in which Catholics and Protestants, Presbyterians and Episcopalians, would be brought in contact at the age when

* The census commissioners consider the age for school education to be from six to fifteen both inclusive, and we are disposed to agree with them.

impressions are most easy and most durable, and taught to live together in the friendship which exists among the members of different sects in the more civilized parts of Europe. Every parish, too, would have in its schoolmasters two or three well instructed inhabitants, 'living,' to use the words of the Report, 'in friendly habits with the people, not greatly raised above them, but so provided for as to be able to maintain a respectable situation; trained to good habits, and identified in interest with the state, and therefore anxious to promote a spirit of obedience to lawful authority.' In short, precisely contrasts to the existing *hedge schoolmasters*—apostles of peace and civilization, instead of examples of vice and teachers of anarchy.

It is painful to think that so glorious an opportunity should have been, in a great measure, thrown away. Instead of five thousand teachers, only nine hundred and eighty have been trained. Instead of a preparatory course in a provincial model school, and two years at Dublin, they have been trained for only four months. Instead of forming a link between the higher and lower classes—the link that is more wanted in Ireland than in any portion of Europe—they are scarcely above the lowest. 'In consequence,' says Mr Carlile, himself a member of the board, 'of the too small remuneration which the commissioners are able to give, and the almost total absence of all hope of promotion, the greater part of the teachers are poor and dispirited, and their manners and address scarcely above the poorest class: to many of them the office of a private in the police, or a doorkeeper in a public office, would be a promotion.'* Instead of five thousand new primary schoolhouses, not quite a thousand have been built. Instead of thirty-two provincial model schools, not one. Instead of 550,000 scholars, there are only 345,585.

And is it, after all, certain that the whole L.1,500,000 has been economized? Is it certain that what the Commissioners recommended to be granted to schools and schoolmasters might not have been saved from the expenditure on barracks, stations, policemen, and soldiers? *The war of preparation which has been going on for the last year, has cost twice as much to the state, and twenty times as much to individuals!*

We wish that we had to accuse the Tories of nothing worse than timidity. A Board consisting of Catholics, Protestants, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians—a Board which prohibited the use of the Bible as a common school-book during common school hours—a

* Appendix to Commons' Report on Education in Ireland, 1837, p. 582.

Board which published extracts from the Bible, in some passages of which the Douay version was preferred to the Anglican, and to which notes were appended, acknowledging that it was a version from the Hebrew or the Greek, and acknowledging that there were various readings in the copies of the original—a Board which allowed the children of Catholic, Protestant, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian parents, to receive religious instruction each from their own clergy, and in such manner as the parents might think fit; and, what was the worst, a Board created by a Whig Government—such a Board was sure to be assailed by all that was ultra-Tory in England, by all that was Orange in Ireland, and by all that was fanatical in the British islands.

It was objected that the Board contained members of different religious denominations—as if the members of one persuasion could have superintended a combined system; or have obtained the confidence of a population religiously divided. It was objected that the Board deprived the clergy of the Establishment of the exclusive right of superintending the education of the people—as if that right had not been the creature of the penal laws, and had not been taken away when the penalties on Catholic schools and on Catholic teachers were repealed. It was maintained, that permitting the Catholic clergy to give separate instruction to Catholic children was an encouragement of Popery, and that it would be better to leave them uneducated—as if this alternative existed—as if, in three-fourths of Ireland, the alternative for the national school were not the Catholic hedge school, with its vice, its ignorance, its superstition, and its rebellion. It was objected, that under the rules of the Board, Catholic children might be refused access to the whole Bible—as if the denial of that access were not a rule of the Catholic Church, and necessarily incident therefore to the education of the children of all sincere Catholics. It was objected, that the Scripture extracts were mutilations of Scripture—as if the lessons of the day, the Epistles and Gospels of the Church of England, were not equally mutilations of Scripture—as if any educated parent ever placed before his child the whole set of books to which we give the collective name of *the Bible*, and expected him to construct a faith out of its contents. Protestant owners refused sites, and then complained that schools were built in the only available spots—the yards of chapels. The Protestant tenants who should venture to assist the national schools were threatened by their landlords; the Protestant clergy were discountenanced by their Bishops; and the Protestant parishioners were rebuked by their clergy; and then landlords, bishops, and clergy, proclaimed that the combined system had failed, for that the Protestants refused to support it!

The leaders of the party, while in opposition, followed their usual selfish and short-sighted policy : they neither attacked the Board nor defended it, but looked on in silence, while more and more of their followers entangled themselves in irretrievable hostility to it. At length they accepted office, and the first question in Ireland was—How will they treat the Education Board? It would have been absurd to suppose that their minds were not made up. For more than two years, office had been within their grasp ; and no one could believe that they had not considered and decided what should be their course on all important matters, which were not liable to be affected by unforeseen events. The first session and the first recess, the second session and the second recess, passed over, and they had not yet in words declared their intentions. But their acts appeared to be significant. The previous Irish Chancellor and Irish Secretary had been members of the Commission. The new Chancellor and Secretary were not. A person, now a member of a society which denounces the National Board of Education as unscriptural and anti-Protestant, was made Lord-Lieutenant. Nearly all legal and all ecclesiastical promotion was given to its virulent opponents. Every thing, in short, was done, which could intimidate its friends and give confidence to its enemies. The time, however, came, when the Government could no longer conceal its decision ; and the decision was, that the Board must be supported. If that decision had been promulgated a year before, though the fanatical opposition might have continued, the factious one would have ceased. It has been delayed until all the waiters on Providence—all those who look to the Government for their opinions—have been deceived into expressions of religious disapprobation, and pledges of conscientious hostility ; from which all will find it difficult, and many impossible, to extricate themselves. For the Government there is no escape. Neither the present Administration, nor that which is to succeed it, if it be merely prudent, can refuse to support the Education Board ; or, if it really desire the welfare of Ireland, can refuse to extend its powers and its means.

What we recommend is, that the Board be incorporated, and allowed to accept by donation, devise, or bequest, money and lands to be applied to the same purposes as the Parliamentary grant. Their present precarious state has prevented their receiving any private assistance, except two donations of L.1000 each from Lord Morpeth and Mrs Drummond, L.400 from an unknown lady, and some trifling sums. We further recommend that the usual powers be given to incapacitated persons to convey to them sites for schools ; and that, under certain circumstances, they be enabled to purchase sites from unwilling pro-

prietors. One of the most usual, and, where property is in few hands, the most effectual, modes of opposition is to refuse a site. We do not tolerate this conduct where it interferes with a railroad or a canal—a school deserves at least as much protection.

We would further recommend that they receive the annual grant, whatever it may be, (it is likely to vary from year to year,) which may be necessary, to enable them fully to carry out a really national system of education. It appears by the late census, that while there were, on the 6th June 1841, 2,057,156 persons between the ages of six and fifteen, and therefore in want of education, only 502,900 were attending schools. But whatever the expense may be, even if it amount, as it probably will, to the sum asked by the commissioners in 1835, it ought not to be grudged. The ignorance and folly of Ireland costs us as many millions directly in expenditure, and twice as many indirectly, in loss of revenue, as it would cost hundreds of thousands to give to her adequate means of moral and intellectual education.

The questions which we have as yet discussed are practically difficult but theoretically easy. An impartial person of common understanding can feel little doubt as to the mode in which a wise monarch, armed with absolute power would settle them. The difficulty arises not from our ignorance of what ought to be done, but from our want of power to effect it. But there are questions of almost equal importance which are practically easy but theoretically difficult—questions of which the difficulty arises, not from the want of power to effect whatever may be thought right, but from our ignorance of what is right.

The most important of these is *Tenure*. Such is the unpopularity, in the imperial Parliament, of the Irish landlords, such is the general conviction that they have neglected their trust and abused their power, that they could make no effectual resistance against any measure to which any government gave the name of a reform. Nothing showed this more clearly than the Irish poor-law, which was positively promoted by their opposition. We believe that if Sir Robert Peel were to propose Von Raumer's plan, and make a present of the fee-simple of half the land of Ireland to the tenants, he could pass his bill through the House of Commons. But unhappily, in proportion to the facility of carrying any measure as to *Tenure*, is the difficulty of ascertaining what that measure ought to be. We believe that in this, as in all other complicated economical questions, the wisest *preliminary step* is the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry. We hear, with great pleasure, that the Government has done this; and that it has obtained the services of men so able, so

moderate, and so experienced as Lord Devon and Sir Robert Ferguson. Until we see the results of that Commission, we shall suspend the expression of any general opinions of our own. But we will venture a few remarks on some insulated points.

We trust that the Commissioners will be required not only to ascertain facts, but to suggest remedies. No persons are so likely to find the best means of removing or palliating evils, or promoting improvements, as those who have gradually acquired a complete knowledge of the facts of the case, and have been forced to meditate on those facts, in order to present them in the form of a full and consistent Report. To which it may be added, that the consciousness that the enquiry is to be followed by actual propositions, is useful as a guide, a stimulus—and sometimes, perhaps, as a check. It gives a practical direction to the enquiry, it restrains the enquirer from useless investigations, it gives interest to those which are to afford the materials of his recommendations, and it brings home to him more forcibly the responsibility under which he is acting. We attach more importance to this remark, in consequence of some late instances of Commissions for mere enquiry. Such a Commission may be popular with the commissioners, whom it allows to amuse themselves, and to interest the public, by collecting curious facts and exhibiting startling pictures, and to leave to others the real and serious labour of extracting from them the means of useful legislation. It may be convenient, too, to the government, which it relieves for a time from the reproach of neglecting important questions, and from the necessity of deciding them; and does not at last encumber with the responsibility of adopting, modifying, or rejecting any specific recommendations. But the practical improvements which we can trace to the information collected by any such restricted Commission are few.

Among the subjects enquired into by the commissioners, will, of course, be the points in which the law of Landlord and Tenant in Ireland, differs from that of England and Scotland. Another must, we think, be the differences in practice in different parts in Ireland; and the comparison of the different practices in Ireland—not generally with those of Great Britain, for that would be endless, but with those of some selected districts in England, in Scotland, and perhaps in Wales.

As an instance of the subject of enquiry, we may take the remarkable practice called tenant-right, or good-will. In the greater part of the north of Ireland, a tenant when he wishes, or is forced, to quit his farm, sells the good-will of it, the mere permission from himself to hire it from his landlord, although there

is no lease, at from five to twelve or thirteen years' purchase of the rent—that is to say, at from twenty-five to more than fifty per cent of the value of the fee-simple. The sale is sometimes made by auction, and generally by public advertisement. All that the landlord can do is to obtain, what he does not always obtain, a right to approve or disapprove of the incoming tenant: where he has attempted to fix the amount, he has generally been defeated by private bargains. The origin of the practice is unknown, but it has been thought to have begun under James I., when the tenants were armed retainers, whom the grantees of the forfeited estates did not wish, perhaps did not dare, to treat as mere lessees. It certainly has no reference to any claim on the part of the tenant for improvements. The occupancy of a mere unreclaimed mountain sometimes sells for a large good-will.* One consequence is, that in the north of Ireland there are no arrears. If a man cannot pay his rent, the landlord requires him to sell the good-will, and is paid out of the purchase-money. Another is, that the land is better cultivated; the tenant being really to a certain extent the owner. It follows, also, that the consolidation of farms is very difficult, indeed impossible; unless one of the adjoining tenants, or the landlord himself, is able and willing to buy up the good-will. If this be the state of things in the North, it might be expected that in the South, where the laws enacted by the peasantry appear to prevail more than in the North, the right to good-will would be at least as firmly established. But in the South it is totally unrecognized, and generally unknown. We do not attempt to account for these anomalies, and we hope to receive their explanation from the Commissioners.

There is one subject, however, connected with the tenure of land in Ireland on which we can speak decidedly, and that is the burden imposed by the new Irish Stamp Act. By that Act, which passed with little observation in 1842, the Irish stamp duties were assimilated to the British—an assimilation which raised the duties on the absolute or qualified alienation of land from one hundred to three hundred per cent.

Thus, under the previous scale, the duty on a conveyance for L.300 was L.1, 10s., under the new scale it is L.3; for L.750 it was L.3, it is now L.9; for L.3000 it was L.12, 10s., it is now L.25. A mortgage for L.100 was 15s., it is now L.1, 10s.; a mortgage for L.1000 was L.2, it is now L.5.

* See an instance in the Rathdown Union. Irish Valuation Report, 1842, p. 229.

The progressive duty on each skin was 10s., it is now L.1. Such an increase would have been severe, even if the details of the new taxation had been equitable. But the principle on which the British Stamp Act, as respects the duty on the alienation of land, is founded, is monstrous. The duty is graduated *contra valorem*;—the smaller the value of the property, the higher in general the per centage of duty. Thus, a conveyance where the price is L.20, pays L.1; where it is L.50, L.1, 10s.; where it is L.150, L.2; where it is L.3000, L.35; where it is L.6000, L.65. A mortgage for L.50 is L.1; for L.200, L.2; for L.1000, L.5; for L.15,000, L.15.

Now, we object to all graduated duties. The only simple, the only equitable, and, we believe, the only safe duty, is a regular per centage. But if a duty is to be graduated, if one class is to be selected as the victim of special taxation, let that class be the rich and not the poor. To tax a man who sells a property worth L.20 at five per cent of its value, and the man who sells one worth L.6000 at little more than one per cent—to charge two per cent on a mortgage for L.50, and one per thousand on one of L.15,000—this is to make poverty the basis of taxation. What should we say to a graduated income-tax, which diminished as the income increased; which taxed incomes of L.150 a-year at ten per cent, and incomes of L.1500 a-year at five per cent? Yet such is the principle of the Stamp Act. What effect this change of duties has had upon the alienation of land in Ireland, we have not the means of ascertaining; but that its effect, whatever it has been, has been mischievous, is certain. Every alienation must be assumed to be beneficial to both parties. No man sells, mortgages or lets, no man buys, lends or hires, unless he expects to benefit by the transaction. Whenever such a transaction is prevented by fear of the duty, both parties are injured, without any gain to the revenue. This particularly applies to the south of Ireland, where the want of leases is a great, and a growing evil. The increasing discontinuance of leases, appears throughout the Valuation Report. Its effects were well shown in the evidence of Mr Selby, a very considerable landholder, both as owner and as occupier, in the county of Cork—

‘Thinks, that where land is let from year to year to a solvent tenant, he would not give so much as if he had got a lease. It would make a difference of ten per cent, at least. As a solvent tenant, he (Mr Selby) would not give within ten per cent of the rent which he would give if he got a lease. Thinks that a prudent solvent tenant ought not to take lands from year to year at all. It is different in England; but in Ireland he would not do it unless he got a farm in good heart, and then he would take it for a year, and *knock the year* out of it; if it were not in good con-

dition, would not take it at all from year to year. Without a lease, or some prospect of getting one, would not give his time to it.*

We trust that in time the attention of the public, and of a public-spirited government, when we enjoy one, will be directed to the oppressions and absurdities of the British Stamp Act; but they have now been endured nearly thirty years; much of the evil which they were likely to do has been done, and is now irremediable, and our habits are in some measure accommodated to them. But the Irish Stamp Act is new, its influence has scarcely been felt. It may now be altered before it has had time to be extensively mischievous.

We recommend that, with respect to sales and mortgages, a regular per centage be substituted for the present *anti-valorem* sliding scale. Perhaps a penny in the pound on mortgages, and twopence on sales, would be sufficient. The progressive duty (a separate charge on all instruments beyond a certain length, and depending solely on length) we would diminish, but not abolish. It is a useful check on that prolixity which, beyond a certain allowance, is the disgrace of the legal language of England, Ireland, and Scotland. Leases for not exceeding twenty-one years we would exempt from all duty, unless it were thought advisable to retain a duty on under leases; and on those made to joint tenants, in order to repress those mischievous practices. One obstacle to the improvement of Ireland would be thus removed, and we believe with little sacrifice of revenue.

The question of the Poor-Laws in many respects resembles that of Tenure. We believe that the Government will find it equally easy to carry whatever they may think fit to propose. We believe that they feel equally puzzled as to what they ought to propose. And we have no doubt that there will be a preliminary enquiry—but that the enquiry will be made, not by a Commission, but by a Committee of each House of Parliament. If the Government think with us that such an enquiry is inevitable, we trust that they will not let the committees be forced on them after months of useless debate, but themselves move for them in the first week of the session. If the inconveniences of a Parliamentary investigation are to be endured—if Parliament is to be employed in investigating petty squabbles as to the choice of a workhouse site, or the eligibility of a contract, or in balancing the claims of an Orangeman and a Repealer to be the medical officer of a union—if the efficiency of the law is to be

suspended by the expectation of its repeal—at least let care be taken that these annoyances shall not be suffered without any further result. Let not these enquiries be begun so late as to end, as so many Irish enquiries have ended, by only one side of the case having been gone into before the 12th of August sends the members of the Committees to the Moors, having agreed to nothing but to Report their evidence.

Without hoping to gain much information from that evidence, without hoping, if we must confess the truth, to be much enlightened by the inferences of the Committees—fully expecting that nine-tenths of the evidence will consist of details interesting only to some member labouring under a grievance as a landlord or patron of a borough—and that the Reports will be the results of compromises to which each side will have sacrificed the conclusions which it would have been most material to announce—we yet think it advisable to suspend any general discussion of the Irish Poor-Law, until the investigation which we anticipate shall have taken place. In the mean time, we may express our satisfaction, that of the two measures which we recommended last April—one, the throwing on the landlord the rate of small tenements, has been adopted. We are inclined to believe that the other, the repression of mendicancy, was at one time approved by the Government; and was given up, only when they began to feel that in Irish affairs they were out of their depth. We cannot suppose that a measure so obviously required by policy, by justice, and even by good faith, has been definitively abandoned; though we fear that it may be delayed until half its utility is lost. As a middle course, we suggest that the measure be permissive—that is to say, that an act for the suppression of mendicancy and vagrancy be passed, and become law only in the counties in which a majority of the boards of guardians shall formally accept it. We believe that throughout Ulster it would be adopted immediately. In that province, wherever the Poor-Law is in full operation, mendicancy seems for the present to be suspended. In last August, we twice travelled along the coast from Belfast to Coleraine without ever being asked for alms, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Giant's Causeway, to which beggars are naturally attracted by tourists. A more favourable opportunity for the permanent extirpation of the practice cannot be conceived. We believe that nothing more than a mendicancy and vagrant act, and a better distribution of the burden between town and country, is wanting, to enable the act to work well in the North. But this is no reason for expecting its success in so dissimilar a country as the South. And we own that we have no hope either that it will

succeed there while the Roman Catholic clergy combine to resist it; or that their opposition will cease while they are the slaves of their congregations, and their congregations are the slaves of the Repealers. In this matter, as in every other, the independence of the Roman Catholic clergy is a condition necessary to successful administration.

A third matter which it is easier to deal with in Parliament than in practice, is to repress the violence of the combined artisans in Ireland; to free industry and knowledge from the tyranny of an ignorant, rapacious, and unscrupulous minority; and to enable the workman to use his labour and skill, and the employer his capital and science, in the way which is most beneficial to themselves, and therefore to the public. The combinations in Scotland and England are, without doubt, intensely mischievous. We believe that they do more to depress our manufacturing and commercial prosperity than all foreign Tariffs put together. We believe that if they continue unchecked by law or by education, they will in time destroy it; and leave Glasgow, Paisley, and Manchester seats of involuntary idleness and loathsome poverty. This calamity, however, appears still to be distant. The disease is debilitating and growing, but has not yet destroyed our general manufacturing superiority. But in Ireland it has run its course, and proved fatal. No business requiring, as all great manufacturing operations must, that many hundred work-people should obey a single capitalist, can be carried on in Ireland. Nothing to which great division of labour is applicable can be profitably made there. A few poplins, Mr Guinness's porter, and some linens, are therefore almost all her exports. And as the productive power of machinery, and of the division of labour, are every day advancing in Great Britain, the number of commodities which Ireland must import, because she can no longer afford to make them, is constantly increasing. It is this that occasions absenteeism to be economically injurious to Ireland. When a Scotchman goes to London or Paris, his rents go to Paisley to purchase the exportable commodities which are to answer his bills. When an Irish landlord crosses St George's Channel, his rents follow him in the form of cattle, or oats, or some other raw produce; and a portion of the produce of Irish land which should otherwise be consumed in Ireland, is consumed in England. If Ireland exported manufactures, she might care no more about absentees than Scotland does. If the measures which have been suggested should be adopted, and should cure the insecurity of the rural districts of Ireland, British capital would be invested in Irish land; but the great source of civilization, manufacturing capital, would still shun a country

in which, so far as respects the manufacturing population, the whole power, both legislative and executive, is in the hands of self-appointed rulers, as ignorant, as ferocious, and as despotic as the petty tyrants of Ashantee. No one knows this better than Mr O'Connell. When he wished Ireland to prosper, no one more earnestly demanded an amendment of the combination laws.

Now, of course, he is silent.

We shall not enter into the details of the necessary amendments. We have not room for them; and, if we had, we could do nothing better than extract the elaborate Essay on that subject contained in the Handloom Weavers' Report.* But we must express our deep conviction, that while the law remains what it now is, utterly inefficient for the protection of the property, the persons, or the lives of either masters or workmen, Ireland will remain almost at the bottom of the nations of Europe—without capital, without manufactures, without commerce; the miserable country of a poor, half-employed population.

The length at which we have discussed the Irish questions which appear to us to be the most urgent and the most difficult, forces us to run rapidly over the remainder. On some of them, such as the Franchise and the extension of Public Works, we shall at present say nothing. They are too large to be disposed of in an article which has already extended to such a length. But there are some, so simple in their elements as to admit, not, indeed, of being exhausted, but of being considered, in the short space that is left to us. One of these is the local magistracy.

Among the errors, to use a very mild term, which disgrace the Irish policy of the present government, one of the worst—one of those for which it is most difficult to assign a plausible motive—is their diminishing the already inadequate number of professional magistrates. When they had resolved, by their Arns bill, to put the comfort, the safety, and the reputation of all the inhabitants of the country at the discretion of the local magistracy, they chose that very time to reduce that portion of the body in whose knowledge and impartiality the people confided. The details of the administration of justice and police in a country, may be usefully committed to the gratuitous superintendence of the resident gentry, in three dissimilar states of society. One is the feudal state, where the bulk of the land is in the hands of a small and comparatively rich aristocracy, and the cen-

tral government is weak and poor. Such was the state of feudal Europe. The Barons obtained jurisdiction over their Vassals because there was no one else to exercise it. Another case is, when, from the poverty of the state, and the depression of the learned professions, the central government could not provide a sufficient number of trustworthy persons. We believe this to be the case in many parts of the Austrian empire. The government requires the great landlords to provide for the administration of justice on their own estates; in order to exempt itself from the expense and the responsibility. A third case is, where the country is filled with numerous, opulent, and intelligent residents, coming in contact with the middle and lower orders principally in the agreeable relations of employers and customers; sprung from the same origin, speaking the same language, generally professing nearly the same religious and political opinions, and sufficiently at leisure to be able to devote the necessary time to the performance of judicial and administrative duties. Such is the case in the best parts of England and Scotland.

But nothing of this applies to Ireland. The central government is strong and rich. It can choose its instruments from the whole legal profession of Ireland, England, and Scotland, perhaps the largest, and certainly the most eminent, body of lawyers—the most remarkable for integrity and station—that exists in Europe. On the other hand, the greater part of the resident gentry of the south of Ireland are regarded by the majority of their neighbours almost as enemies. Most of them are poor; many of them speak a different language; and the principal social relation between them and the peasantry, that of landlord and tenant, much more resembles that of creditor and debtor, or that of taskmaster and slave, than the patriarchal form which it assumes in feudal countries, or the connexion cemented by mutual interest which it creates in England and Scotland.

It is improbable, as we have already said, that an aristocracy standing in such a relation to the bulk of the people can always distribute justice impartially, and impossible that they can do so satisfactorily; and if our object were mere immediate improvement, we should wish to see the removal of the unpaid, and the substitution of stipendiary magistrates in the greater part of the south of Ireland. But besides the practical difficulties of such a change, it would not be easy, after having adopted the centralized system, to return to that of local government. And a highly centralized government, though it is consistent with a considerable amount of prosperity, intelligence, and practical freedom, seems to have a tendency to keep a nation unprogressive, when that point has been reached. Without doubt, the present state of

Lombardy is far better than that of Ireland. But we believe that if Ireland could be made tranquil and loyal, her free institutions would enable her to attain a material, moral, and intellectual superiority over Lombardy, and even over Prussia, if Prussia continues to be governed as she now is. We recommend, therefore, merely that a considerable number of professional persons be added to the present magistracy of the south of Ireland; that the practically obsolete custom of appointing a *quorum* be revived, and that the *quorum* consist exclusively of the stipendiary magistrates; so that the presence of one of them should be necessary to every magisterial act. In the present state of Ireland, we should consider the patronage which this would give to the government as an advantage.

The last proposal would be an expense. We proceed to one that would be a saving, though that is not its principal merit—we mean the abolition of the Lord-Lieutenancy. When Ireland was practically further from London than Nova Scotia is now, it might be necessary to have a Lord-Lieutenant on the other side of St George's Channel, as it is thought necessary to have a governor on the other side of the Atlantic; but now that London is nearer to Ireland than to many parts of England, or to any part of Scotland—now that a man can go from Dover to the Giant's Causeway in six-and-thirty hours, there seems to be no more necessity for a viceroy in Dublin than in Edinburgh. If, however, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland resembled our Colonial Governors, who do not change with the changes of Ministry—who are merely the organs of the imperial executive—who represent no party in the mother country, and belong to no party in the dependency—the chief inconvenience of the office, besides a considerable amount of public money uselessly squandered, would be its preparing the way for discussion, by exhibiting to the people a *quasi* King, a court, a privy council, palaces, guards—in fact, all the appearances of a separate kingdom except a parliament. But conferred, as it always is, on a political adherent—on a man who represents a party in England, and belongs to a party in Ireland, and armed with considerable patronage, direct and indirect—it makes Dublin the nucleus of faction and intrigue, and brings the political warfare 'home to men's business and bosoms.' A Tory Lord-Lieutenant comes over—orange flags are hung over his head—Orangemen crowd to his levees—the lay candidates for preferment sneer at Whig doctrines and Whig institutions—the clerical expectants denounce the Catholics as idolaters, mixed education as a compromise with error, and Scripture extracts as a surrender of the Bible. All the tradesmen employed by his late Excellency are discharged, and those who have voted

the right way are substituted. Then comes a Whig—a new mob shouts at his heels—a new set form his levees—those who have not irretrievably committed themselves to coercion and intolerance, back out: those who are desperate, revenge themselves by misrepresenting, with inventive malignity, all that he says or does, and all that is said and done by his friends. Party spirit is carried into the ball-room and to the dinner-table: the Tory tradesmen are displaced, often to their sudden and utter ruin. Then comes a Tory again, and the same miserable practice is repeated; and these tides, differing from sea-tides in being irregular and utterly uncertain, are a fresh ingredient among the causes of agitation.

The very nature of the office—a temporary Kingship partly for business and partly for parade—has a tendency to render royalty unpopular, and almost ludicrous. The real sovereign of the British islands, whatever be his vices or his follies, and we have had Kings deeply stained with both, scarcely ever loses the affection or the respect of the people. The errors of the government are all attributed to his ministers; his personal defects do not penetrate beyond the narrow, dense circle, which conceals him from the public. The deference with which all bow before him, is his birthright. There never was a time when he was not a royal personage, whom no one thought of treating as an equal. But a lord-lieutenant has not the immunity or the *prestige* of royalty; all the faults of the executive are attributed to him, and all his private defects are notorious and exaggerated. The forms, the observances, and the etiquette of a court, are absurd and almost degrading, when the object of so much reverence is a sort of lord mayor—who, a year ago, was a mere ordinary nobleman, and a year hence, perhaps a week hence, will be an ordinary nobleman again—who is known perhaps to have been selected for his wealth, and is expected to be dismissed for his unpopularity or his incapacity.

The duties now performed by the Lord-Lieutenant and by his Secretary, must however be provided for. They ought not to be thrown on the Home Office. The present duties of that office, if we include among them an amount of vigilance and precaution, which shall save the Home Secretary from being unexpectedly roused by fires like those which desolated the South of England in 1830, or outrages like those of South Wales in 1843, require the whole time of the most energetic administrator. We believe that a fourth Secretary of State must be appointed; and this will remove one great inconvenience of the present arrangement—namely, that either the management of Ireland is divided between two persons, neither of whom is a member of the Cabinet, or that

the Lord-Lieutenant's Secretary, as a cabinet minister, is raised above his own official superior.

Of course the abolition of the office will be denounced by the revolutionary party. A measure that is useful, and that tends to the consolidation of the Empire, has a double claim to their detestation. It will be unpopular, too, with a certain class of Dublin tradesmen; but we wish to see it accompanied by another measure, which will be equally unpalatable, indeed, to the Repealers, and perhaps more so, and for the same reasons, but eminently agreeable to the mass of the Irish people.

We earnestly wish that her Majesty may be advised to pay an annual visit to Ireland. We do not mean a mere royal progress, from one great house to another, to receive shouts from mobs, and addresses from corporations, but a real residence of several weeks—a residence long enough to make the presence of the Sovereign no unusual element in Irish life. Phoenix Park and the Castle are very good substitutes for Pimlico and St James's. The situation of Dublin is far more agreeable than that of London—indeed, than that of any considerable English town, except perhaps Plymouth; and the climate in autumn is delightful. The distance from London is practically less than that of Weymouth, when it was the residence of George III.

Important, however, as we consider it to be, that the sovereign of Ireland should not be a permanent absentee, we do not wish her to be a permanent resident during the present state of excitement. The real grievances of Ireland must be redressed—her real wants must be relieved, so far as legislative and administrative measures can relieve them, and a general wish to conciliate the people must be manifested by deeds as well as by words, and by words as well as by deeds, before a remedy, addressed more to their feelings than to their interests, can be efficient: that a mere visit from her Majesty would do some good, may indeed be inferred from the pains taken by Mr O'Connell to prevent one, by threatening her with 300,000 petitioners for Repeal; but we had rather that it should be deferred until it can have its full operation.

Another measure of a similar character has been suggested—the holding from time to time a Parliamentary Session in Dublin. We are quite aware, as we shall immediately show, that there are opposed to this proposal many, perhaps insuperable obstacles. But the advantages would be great. The principal cause of misgovernment, particularly of the misgovernment which irritates rather than injures, is ignorance. Things are done and said which the proposer, or the utterer, would have carefully avoided if he had suspected the feelings which they would excite; but

no one can understand the feelings of a people who does not, for a time at least, live among them. The great majority of the Members of each House, that is to say, of the two Assemblies which govern Ireland, know less of that country than they know of Belgium or of Switzerland. Even the inhabitants of the north and south of Ireland know little of one another. As things are, this ignorance does not seem likely to diminish. Ireland is not on the road to any other place; and the greater part of it is not at present an inviting country to travel in. There are scarcely any railroads—the climate is wet and ungenial—the inns are inland—the greater part of the scenery is uninteresting, and almost all the moral objects are painful. Until it has been greatly altered, nothing but necessity will make it frequented by those who belong to happier countries. Such a necessity would be imposed by a Parliamentary Session in Dublin. The presence of Parliament would of course attract many who do not belong to it—the increased resort of travellers would improve the means of accommodation and communication—the Members would not confine themselves to the capital—they would spread themselves over the country in the intervals of business. They would see with their own eyes the nature of the relations between the landlord and the tenant, and between the peasant and the magistrate, whose claim to his high office rests on his estate. They would distinguish between the improvements which are to be effected by legislative or administrative measures, and those which must follow or accompany advancing civilization. Irish questions would be no longer left to be discussed by only the Irish Members, though the English and the Scotch must take part in deciding them; and if once the country were secure—if once life and property were safe in it, (and until that has been effected, real improvement is impossible,)—the capacity of Ireland to afford investments for capital would be perceived: many that came as visitors would remain as manufacturers, merchants, or proprietors; and the fusion of the people, the amalgamation which Mr O'Connell in his better days demanded, would begin.

On the other hand, the obstacles are also very great. The Ministers must elect between absence from their official subordinates, and their official documents, and absence from Parliament. There would be little difficulty with the House of Lords. Three Peers make a house, not more than twenty or thirty are regular attendants, and the absent may, to a considerable extent, vote by proxy. But a large and valuable portion of the House of Commons, the bankers, merchants, and lawyers of London, would be almost excluded; and their places would not be supplied by the

half dozen Dublin members of similar occupations. If a period of balanced parties should recur, and nothing is more likely than such an event, perhaps immediately after the very next general election, the majority might depend on the *situs* of the Parliament, and the Whigs might be entitled to govern when the House sat in College Green, and the Tories as soon as it returned to Westminster.

We have now enumerated the principal points in which legislative reform is wanted in Ireland; and, with respect to most of them, we have stated what we think the reform ought to be. A few years ago, such a body of recommendations, if presented as a whole, would have been dismissed as a mere 'devout imagination.' We believe that now the public mind is prepared for them; and that if Sir Robert Peel were to introduce a set of Bills for providing glebes and churches for the Catholic laity, and stipends for their clergy—for the redemption of the tithe rent charge—the sale of the ecclesiastical property in Ireland, and the investment and better distribution of the proceeds—for an increased grant to the Education Board—a permissive vagrant law—an amendment of the combination laws, and an addition to the stipendiary magistracy—he would, probably, be joined by a portion of the Opposition sufficient to enable him to carry these measures.

It may be supposed that, if we are right as to their intrinsic utility, they would be beneficial under whatever circumstances they were enacted—whether their intrinsic qualities were a motive or an obstacle; whether they were eagerly brought forward by a triumphant government, or reluctantly acquiesced in by an alarmed one; and, as to many of these measures, this is true. But who can suppose that, in either set of circumstances, they would be equally beneficial? Who can affirm that, under the latter supposition, they would not carry with them peculiar evils, which would be a set off, and a formidable set off, against their advantages?

If the measures to which we have alluded were all demanded by Ireland, and formed her *ultimatum*, the only evil arising from a reluctance in their concession would be, that they would be less advantageous. They would lose a great deal of their moral utility, they would produce less good; but they would not, on that ground, produce any positive evil. But, unfortunately, neither these measures, nor any others that are practicable, are the *ultimatum* of Ireland. The numerical majority of the Irish, perverted by the revolutionary party, have made a demand which it is impossible to concede; because it cannot be conceded with-

out their ruin, and our own. Repeal must be resisted to the utmost extremity of civil war; because it would certainly be followed by civil war, and the contest, occurring later, would be longer and more calamitous. The multitudes who cry for Repeal will never be convinced of its mischievousness. They are too ignorant to comprehend even the outline of the real question; and too blindly confident in the veracity and patriotism of the agitators, who use them as the tools of their own vanity, avarice, and ambition.

The only way to make them subside into tranquillity is to convince them, not that their object is mischievous; or even that it is valueless—for they will not listen to the proof, nor could they understand it; but that it is unattainable. And, to be convinced of this, they must believe the government to be sincere and firm. Such a government would say—‘We do not deal in boons, or grants, or concessions. To the measures, whatever they may be, which will, on the whole, produce more good than evil, the country which we govern, and Ireland as a part of that country, is entitled, and is entitled as a matter of right, not of favour. Whatever would produce more evil than good the country ought not to have; and, while we are ministers, it shall not have. All measures of the first kind we will, as far as we are able, propose and carry. Those of the second we will resist, and, if our resistance is ineffectual, we will resign.’ Such has been the language, and such has been, on the whole, the conduct of the Whigs. The principle of every Tory government, of which we have had experience, has been to estimate arguments, not by their truth, but by their plausibility; to yield, indeed, every thing to menace, but nothing to reason; and to adopt or reject each measure according to its probable influence—not on the welfare of the country, but on the divisions of the session. No one believes, therefore, in their firmness or in their sincerity. No one believes in their declarations of opinion, or in their promises of conduct. Both the one and other pass for rhetorical instruments, to be abandoned when they have served their purpose at the hustings, or in the debate.

It is this general distrust of their sincerity and of their promises which renders the Tories incapable of either effectually resisting, or usefully granting the demands of any democratic party. It was by this mixture of obstinacy and timidity that they infused even into Catholic emancipation an active principle of evil. Nothing can describe better what have been, in one respect, the results of that measure, than Sir Robert Inglis’s prophecy of what they would be. In his speech on the third reading of the Bill on the 30th of March 1829, he contrasted the pro-

bable effects of the measure as carried by a willing, and by a reluctant government. ‘Mr Canning,’ he said, ‘would have conceded emancipation open-hearted and open-handed. Concession from him would have been a gift;—concession from the right honourable Secretary is privilege surrendered to intimidation. Concession from Mr Canning would have been alms from the merciful,—a debt from the just;—concession from the right honourable gentleman is his purse surrendered to a foot-pad. I am unwilling to impute more to any person than he himself chooses to incur; but, I will ask, has not the right honourable gentleman himself said, that he yields unwillingly—that the party to whom he yields has no right—and that he yields because he is afraid of being knocked down if he resists any longer? But let me tell him, that, while alms may silence a beggar, or payment silence a creditor, the surrender of his purse to a highwayman is not the best way to preserve his watch. This surrender to the Roman Catholics is a direct premium to intimidation. Henceforth the principle of intimidation will almost become a common rule-of-three sum; and the class-books of Maynooth will state it thus:—If a given degree of agitation will procure seats in Parliament, what degree will be necessary to procure any other concessions—the abolition of tithes, for example, or the dissolution of the Union?’* The painful consequence is, that we can scarcely wish to see the present government propose to satisfy even the just demands of Ireland. Whatever they do, be its merits in other respects what they may, will be valueless as conciliation, and hurtful as encouragement. They have little power to do good, and we doubt their ability, or at least their skill, even to resist evil. They have now abandoned the Fabian policy of the session. When we last considered the subject, we endeavoured to think that policy the result of wisdom.† Subsequent events have shown that it was mere cowardice. At first sight their conduct seems inexplicable. Having come to the conclusion that the meetings were illegal, that they must be put down, and that Mr O’Connell must be prosecuted, the only rational course appeared to be to suppress, in their beginning, proceedings which they held to be both unlawful and mischievous. To allow such proceedings to go on, week after week, and month after month, until all the evil which they could effect had been completed; and *then*, when the people had become tired of their fruitless

* *Mirror of Parliament*, 1829, p. 918.

† See our last Number, p. 535.

waste of time, of money, and of strength—when bad weather and short days had arrived ; when even the Agitator had announced that the intended great meeting was to be the last—*then* at last to interfere, and to enable those who seemed in danger of having to play to empty houses to drop their curtain in triumph—all this seems to be the madness with which Jupiter is said to blast those whom he intends to destroy.

We believe the real explanation to be, that they were willing to run any risk, and to make any sacrifice, if they could thereby avoid, or even put off, an unpleasant discussion in the House of Commons. They felt that, while they were quiescent, they need not fear one. The Opposition approved that policy, and they could force their own friends to be silent. But the instant they moved, a long and angry debate was inevitable. They remained torpid, therefore, until that formidable House was closed ; and, what was the inevitable consequence, until the time for useful interference, if any such time there was, had passed by. At length the long ignominious session had done its worst, and was over, and they could venture to govern without the embarrassing consciousness that they might be tried for their conduct in twenty-four hours. But with the fatality which pursues pusillanimous persons, having been afraid to act while action might have been useful, they were afraid to be quiet when action was positively mischievous. The curse of timid dilatoriness, however, still pursued them. The meeting at Clontarf was announced. If they were resolved to prohibit a meeting they must prohibit that—for it was to be the last. It was advertised for weeks : the very day before it was to be held was arrived. The silence of the executive was a pledge that they believed it to be lawful. Thousands—tens of thousands—were on their way to it ; it might be said to have almost begun, when the government announced their determination to suppress it—relying, for the means of preventing a collision between the assembled multitude and the force sent to disperse them, only on the influence and the energy of Mr O'Connell.

With respect to the probable issue of the State Prosecutions, of course we say nothing. But whatever be their immediate event, we do not see how they can produce any useful result. We see how they may do harm, indeed, and enormous harm ; but not how they can do good. The diseases of Ireland are not topical. What the patient requires is not the cautery or the knife, but repose, regimen, and confidence in her physician. And these she will not obtain, until she is in the hands of abler, more decisive, and, above all, honest men.

If we believed in the permanence of the present government,

we should believe in the permanence of Irish discontent, turbulence, and misery. Their political relations—their dependence on the minority, and hostility to the majority, of the people—render them incapable of acting in the spirit of the Emancipation Act, or even of the Union. What were Mr Pitt's promises when he proposed the Union? That the avenue to honours, to distinctions, and exalted situations in the empire, would be opened to *all* those whose abilities enabled them to indulge an honourable ambition.* What was the ground on which Sir Robert Peel, in 1828, opposed Emancipation? That the admission to office must follow eligibility. 'The Crown,' he said, 'it is true, would possess a discretion. It would not be obliged to confer offices on Roman Catholics. But if they were not conferred, the exclusion would be much more pernicious and offensive; resting, as it would then do, on the discretion of the Crown, than resting, as it now does, on legislative enactment. Exclusion proceeding from the Crown would be productive of jealousy and discontent much greater than have hitherto existed.'†

Never was a truer prediction; and it is the misfortune of the prophet that he has been himself the grand cause of its accomplishment. His subserviency to the Protestants has forced him to refuse office to the Catholics. It has forced him to close against them the avenue which Mr Pitt promised to *all* whose abilities enabled them to indulge an honourable ambition. And the exclusion has proved as 'pernicious and offensive,'—as productive of 'jealousy and discontent,' as he foretold that it must be.

But it may be said, this is essential to our institutions: the British government must always be the government of a party, and the party that is in must exclude from its patronage the party that is out. This is true, but it is also essential to this very complicated and very difficult system of government, that the party in power should be formed out of all the classes of the people. To use a geological metaphor, party must cut the strata perpendicularly, not horizontally. It is the crime, or the error, certainly the misfortune, of the Tory party, that it has converted into bitter enemies four-fifths of the Irish people. It is forced to exclude four-fifths of the inhabitants of Ireland from all the dignities, and all the emoluments which it has to bestow. In this,

* Pitt's Speeches, vol. iii. p. 30.

† Mirror of Parliament. 1828. P. 1413.

as in many other instances, it must pay the penalty of its selfish and immoral, and therefore short-sighted policy. It must afford one more example of the general truth, that parties suffer for their misdeeds as certainly as individuals.

Towards the latter end of the last century, when that party came into office, it found the Irish Catholics a despicable populace. Its whole attention was paid to the depositaries of political power, the Protestants. It gave indeed to the Catholics the elective franchise; but that was for the sole benefit of their Protestant landlords. For a time this policy answered. Ireland became the stronghold of Toryism. The Irish peerage was swamped with Tories; the increase of its numbers was then prohibited; and thus a permanent addition of twenty-eight Tories was made to the House of Lords. The Irish members formed the Tory reserve in the House of Commons—the Old Guard, the Sacred Band, the veterans in misgovernment, whom no folly alarmed, and no injustice revolted. These days have passed away. The Irish Catholics have become a nation; and no party can satisfactorily govern Ireland which does not receive the support, we will not say of the whole, or even of a majority of the Catholics, but of a minority sufficient to enable it to give to Catholics a fair share of its patronage. Ireland can never be contented while to be a Catholic is a badge of exclusion. Unless the promises made at the Union, and implied by the Emancipation, are fully and fairly kept—unless Catholics are admitted to equal rights and to a full participation in the benefits of the constitution—unless they are chosen for office as well as eligible—unless eminence in Parliament and at the bar lead the Catholic as readily as the Protestant to the Privy Council and to the Bench—if the only passions left unsatisfied are their vanity and their ambition; not the wisest acts of Parliament—not the kindest language or the kindest conduct to all portions of the society, *except its active and energetic members*—no benefits conferred on all, *except the leaders of the people*, will produce more than a palliative effect.

LETTER from JOHN S. MILL, Esq., to the Editor.

THOUGH it is not the practice to insert in this Journal any controversial statements respecting the Articles contained in it, the Editor's great respect for the memory of the Father defended in the following Letter, and for the Son who writes it, induces him to comply with that claim 'for justice' which it urges, by giving it all the publicity which its appearance here can insure. He leaves all comment or observation upon its contents to others; feeling, that if there is any case in which, independently of any opinion as to the justness of the complaint, such a claim ought to be complied with, it must be that where a son craves the opportunity of vindicating, in the same work where he thinks it was injured, the character of a Father of whose name and services to the cause of liberal knowledge he is justly proud.

'SIR—In an Article on Dr Bowring's "*Life of Bentham*," published in the last Number of the *Edinburgh Review*, statements are made, on the authority of that work, tending to give a most false impression of the character of one who, by his writings and personal influence, has done more for philosophy and good government than almost any man of his generation, and who has peculiar claims upon the justice of the *Edinburgh Review*, to which he was for many years an important contributor—I mean the late Mr James Mill, my father.

'That those whose lives are devoted to the service of mankind should meet with inadequate appreciation from their contemporaries can surprise no one; but when their motives and moral character are misrepresented, not only justice, but the public interest requires that the misrepresentation should be corrected; and I trust you will not refuse the necessary opportunity to the person on whom that duty is, in the present case, peculiarly incumbent.

'The Reviewer, quoting from the "*Memoirs*," says, "*Bentham said of Mill, that his willingness to do good to others depended too much on his power of making the good done to them subservient to good done to himself. His creed of politics results less from love for the many than from hatred of the few. It is too much under the influence of social and dissocial affection.*"

'What is here promulgated as Bentham's deliberate judgment, was never, I will venture to affirm, believed by any human being who had the smallest knowledge of Mr Mill.

‘ I know not how a biographer is to be justified in giving publicity and permanence to every idle word which may have been said to the prejudice of others, under some passing impression or momentary irritation. It would, besides, be easy to show, that the reports of Bentham’s conversations contained in the Biography, abound in the inaccuracies which are to be expected when things carelessly stated by one person, are afterwards noted down from memory by another. But whatever Bentham may really have said, when a statement so injurious to another is made on his authority, justice to that other imposes the necessity of declaring what the “Memoirs” amply confirm, that among Mr Bentham’s eminent intellectual endowments, capacity for judging of character was not one. The manner of his intercourse with others was not favourable to his acquiring a real knowledge of them ; and his warmest friends and admirers often lamented that his opinion of men depended less on their merits than on accidental circumstances, and on the state of his personal relations with them at the time. On no other principle can I account for his expressing any opinion of Mr Mill bearing the complexion of that quoted in the Article.

‘ It imputes to Mr Mill, as the source of his democratic opinions, the vulgarest motives of an unprincipled demagogue ; namely, selfish ambition, and a malignant hatred of the ruling classes. Now, there was perhaps no one man among Mr Mill’s contemporaries, holding similar opinions to his, who stood more manifestly clear from even the suspicion of these motives.

‘ He could in no way hope for “good to himself” from the opinions he professed. In many respects they stood in the way of his personal interest. They deprived his writings of the countenance of either of the great parties in the state, in times when that countenance was much more important than it now is, and when he might have obtained it as easily as many others did, who had not a title of his talents. Even had his opinions become predominant, which he never expected would be the case during his life, he would, as he well knew, have reaped no personal benefit from them ; and assuredly, the time when he embraced democratic doctrines, was a time when no person in his senses could have entertained the smallest hope of gaining any thing by their profession.

‘ As for “hatred of the few,” the phrase seems introduced solely to round an antithesis. There never was a man more free from any feelings of hatred. His hostility was to institutions and principles, not to persons. It was his invariable doctrine that the ruling individuals were not intentionally bad, nor in any way worse than other men. Towards some of them he enter-

tained strong feelings of personal friendship. A certain asperity, no doubt, appears occasionally in his controversial writings; but it proceeded from no private motives:—the individuals against whom it showed itself never injured him, never wounded his vanity, or interfered with his interests; his path and theirs never crossed. It has been shown in the highly honourable acknowledgment recently made by Mr Macaulay, how far Mr Mill was from retaining any grudge, even when he *had* been personally attacked, and with a severity which the assailant himself cannot now approve. Mr Mill never wrote severe things of any one but from honest conviction, and in the exercise, as he believed, of a duty; and the fault, if fault it be, is one which we of this age may view with leniency, when we see how often the absence of it has no better source than incapacity of earnest feeling on any subject not personal.

‘ The Reviewer, still following the Memoirs, enters into some points of private history, of so personal a nature, and so little interesting to the public, that it is unpleasant to feel called upon to speak of them; but since the impression conveyed is, that Mr Mill received obligations from Bentham, such as one man rarely receives from another, and that for these obligations he made but an ungrateful return, it is necessary to show how incorrectly the facts are stated, and how false a colouring is put upon such of them as are true.

‘ The statements in the “Memoirs” are, that Bentham “found Mill in great distress, about to emigrate to Caen; that he put him into a house, and took him and his family to live with him for the half of every year, for ten years together.”

‘ At the time when Bentham is said to have “found Mill about to emigrate,” they had already been intimate for many years, as the dates prove; since the “emigration” spoken of could not have been projected until after the Continent was open. Like many others, Mr Mill had thoughts of removing to a country where a small income would go further in supporting and educating a family; but a person is not usually said to be “in great distress” who never in his life was in debt, and whose income, whatever it might be, always covered his expenses.

‘ Secondly, that Bentham “put him into a house.” If this means that he occupied any house of Bentham’s, free of rent, the assertion is contrary to fact. He paid to Mr Bentham between L.50 and L.60 a-year rent, which was as high a rent as he had been accustomed to pay.

‘ Thirdly, that Mr Mill and his family lived with Mr Bentham for half of ten years. They did so for half of *four* years, at Ford

Abbey; and they passed small portions of several previous summers with him at Barrow Green. His last visit to Barrow Green, I know, was of not more than a month's duration, and the previous ones all together, did not, as I am informed, (for my own memory does not reach so far back,) extend to more than six months, or seven at most. Bentham himself, in a letter published in the "*Life*," says, the half of *five* years: which is not far from the mark.

‘ The pecuniary benefit, therefore, which Mr Mill derived from his intimacy with Bentham consisted in this, that he and his family lived with him as his guests, while he was in the country, periods amounting in all to about two years and a half. I have no reason to think that this hospitality was either given, or accepted, as pecuniary assistance; and I will add, that the obligation was not exclusively on one side. Bentham was not then, as he was afterwards, surrounded by persons who courted his society, and were ever ready to volunteer their services; and to a man of his secluded habits, it was no little advantage to have near him such a man as Mr Mill, to whose advice and aid he habitually had recourse in all business transactions with the outward world, of a troublesome or irksome nature. Such as the connexion was, that it was not of Mr Mill's seeking, is shown by a remarkable letter from him to Mr Bentham, which is to be found in the "*Life*," and which was written, as its date proves, during the first visit to Ford Abbey.

‘ Lastly, the Reviewer, on his own authority, asserts, that Mr Mill became estranged from Bentham, and, in after years, "so far withdrew his allegiance from the dead lion as to deny that he had ever called him master." There was, during the last few years of Bentham's life, less frequency and cordiality of intercourse than in former years, chiefly because Bentham had acquired newer, and to him, more agreeable intimacies; but Mr Mill's feeling never altered towards him, nor did he ever fail, publicly or privately, in giving due honour to Bentham's name, and acknowledgment of the intellectual debt he owed to him. The "allegiance" which he disclaimed was only that which no man, who thinks for himself, will own to another. He was no otherwise a disciple of Bentham, than of Hobbes, Hartley, or Ricardo.

‘ These are small matters in themselves—quite unworthy to be brought before the public; but if the things are trivial, the inferences drawn from them are not so, and nothing is small which involves injustice to the memory, and a total misconception of the character, of an eminent man. Reluctant, therefore, as I am

so to occupy your space; yet as the extensive circulation of the *Edinburgh Review* has been given to these mistatements, I do not feel that I am unreasonable in soliciting a place, in the next Number, for this contradiction of them.

‘ I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

‘ J. S. MILL.’

LETTER from COLONEL MURE to the Editor.

THE Editor has been induced, by the Classical and Architectural interest of the point to which it refers, to print the following Letter from Colonel Mure of Caldwell, respecting a noted peculiarity in the structure of the Parthenon;—described in his learned and intelligent ‘*Journal of a Tour in Greece*,’ reviewed in a former Number. The observations to which his Letter refers, have reference to some remarks upon the peculiarity alluded to, contained in our late account of Mr Hay’s publications on Form and Colour.

‘ DEAR SIR—The writer of an article on Mr Hay’s ingenious works on Colour and Form, in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, has done me the honour to quote my *Journal of a Tour in Greece*, (in more flattering terms than I fear it merits,) with immediate reference to the account I there gave of some interesting peculiarities in the structure of the Parthenon. He observes, however, that he is somewhat perplexed by my statement “that the vertical lines of the building have a certain inclination outwards;” having been led to believe that the inclination alluded to was inwards rather than outwards, on the authority of other observers, among whom he particularizes Mr George Findlay of Athens; and cites as his voucher a portion of a letter from that gentleman to the Editor of the *Athenæum*, dated August 5, 1843, of which I was also favoured with a copy.

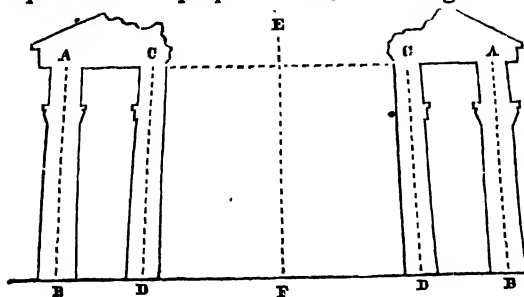
‘ This statement of mine was made the subject of a similar comment by my distinguished friend Mr W. R. Hamilton, in a private letter, dated 15th March 1842, of which the following is an extract:—

“ In page 320 of Vol. II. (Note) you mention, ‘ that the vertical lines of the building have a certain inclination outwards.’ I had heard of some such fact, but understood that the inclination was inwards. But, perhaps, we mean the same thing, and that you had in your mind—inclination from above.”

‘ This view of the case is quite correct, and settles the question of fact in so far as at issue between myself on the one part, and my esteemed correspondent, the Reviewer, and his authorities, on the other ; for there can be no doubt we all mean the same thing, and differ only in our mode of expressing it. Such an arrangement of the vertical lines of the building, as I should be otherwise understood to describe, was as incompatible with the solidity of its structure as with every principle of Grecian art or taste.

‘ I am not vain enough to suppose that my authority in any such matter can be entitled to the degree of weight which the Reviewer has done me the honour to attach to it. As, however, this additional publicity has been given to my statement through the influential channel of your Journal, and as the more subtle mechanism of the architecture of the Parthenon has of late become more than ever an object of interest to the lovers of art and antiquity, it may not be unimportant to your readers to know that, on so vital a point of that mechanism, all authorities, high and low, are agreed—especially those who, like myself, speak from ocular inspection. I take the liberty, therefore, of offering these few words of explanation, for insertion, if not inconsistent with your rules, in the form of a Note to your next quarterly Number.

‘ The term vertical, in its primary signification, is, I believe, equivalent to perpendicular, denoting a line drawn at right



angles to the horizon. Amid the scanty stock of terms, however, which our language supplies for defining the nicer modifications of architectural form or proportion, it is also

familiarly used, as it has been by me, to signify such lines as, without being essentially perpendicular, extend from the summit to the base of a structure. Any such line, I assumed, in terms of the above definition, to be drawn from above rather than from

below, upon the general principle of gravitation—the same by reference to which the mathematician speaks of letting fall rather than raising a perpendicular; and held, consequently, the vertical lines of the Parthenon AB, CD, as they appear in the accompanying section of the opposite flanks of the building, (where I have slightly exaggerated the peculiarity, for the better illustration of the principle,) to incline outwards, not inwards, with respect to the plumb line EF, or centre of gravity of the whole structure.

‘I should have expressed myself differently had I been treating of the *solid material parts*, rather than of the *geometrical lines of the plan* of the building; the bearings of a column or wall being calculated, with obvious propriety, from the base to the summit; and for the same reason that an opposite mode appeared to me preferable in respect to vertical lines—viz., that their commencement or starting-point of the former is assumed to be from their lower, as that of the latter is from their upper extremity. So that, while I should not have hesitated to describe the inclination of the columns of the Parthenon as inwards, that of their vertical lines I conceived, would, with equal propriety, be defined as outwards.

‘These remarks, however, must be understood as offered in the way of explanation, rather than justification, of my mode of expressing myself. As the question was evidently one of technical definition rather than literary style, I have been at pains to submit it to the judgment of a scientific friend, whose verdict in any such case it were presumptuous in me to dispute, and which has been given against me. As I am therefore no longer prepared to maintain the point, I shall not consider it necessary to specify at length the grounds on which I have been induced to concede it. To the man of science they would probably be superfluous. To the general reader, the following, which I here subjoin, will probably in itself appear sufficiently conclusive: that “the best mode of elucidating any such matter is an appeal to the general apprehension,” the result of which, with so many and various authorities on the other side, must, I readily admit, be considered as in favour of the Reviewer’s, and against my own view of the case.

‘I am, dear Sir,

‘Yours very truly,

‘WILL. MUSE.’

The Editor may mention, that the Writer of the Article above referred to, has since found, that he had misunderstood another

very important part of Colonel Mure's description of the Parthenon, namely, the *upward* curvature of the lines of the architrave and basement. He supposed the term '*curved upwards*' to be the same as *concave upwards*, while Colonel Mure means *convex upwards*. With this correction the reader will be able to understand the observations made in pages 320 and 321 of the Article.

Erratum.—In p. 318, line 29, of the Article referred to, for *classification* read *combination*.

NOTE to the Article on^h Ireland.

SINCE the above-mentioned Article was written, we have received a copy of a Pamphlet about to appear, under the not very happy title of WHAT IS TO BE DONE? OR PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE; in which the author discusses, at considerable length, the conduct of the present Ministry with respect to Ireland, and some other topics connected with that subject, which it did not fall within the scope of our Article to examine. We have therefore thought it right to refer our readers to its statements, but without in all points identifying our own with his views and opinions; and as it is written throughout with much spirit, point, and political intelligence, we have great pleasure in recommending it, as highly creditable to its author, who is evidently not unpractised in such compositions.

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